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League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/YS-LJS
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The contents of this bulletin only scratch the surface of the wealth of material available in internal bulletins and our press. The selection from our press was particularly difficult to keep down to manageable proportions and was determined on what might be considered the more pivotal of many related articles. But the contents are sufficient we hope to provide a grasp of the development and application of our views on orienting to the mass political movements of the Canadian working class.

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'Issues, not image'

Left challenges Sask. NDP

by Dennis Lomas

REGINA, June 5 — The Saskatchewan NDP convention ended today with the election of Allan Blakeney as provincial leader. Blakeney, a Regina lawyer and MLA, was elected on the third ballot with 407 votes compared with 349 for Roy Romanow. Earlier balloting had eliminated two other candidates including Don Mitchell, 26, a student and former organizer for the National Farmers Union.

Mitchell's candidacy was the focal point for the successful intervention of the leftwing Waffle group. Although not an official Waffle candidate, Mitchell is a leading member of the group and campaigned on its program. The 25 percent support he won on the second ballot indicated the strength of the Waffle group and the impact of its policies on the convention.

Mitchell's "issues, not images" campaign presented alternatives in key areas. Particularly stressed was the Waffle position on agriculture. It called for "democratic control by farmers and workers in the agricultural industry over all facets of food production and community control over the marketing and distribution of food products." To fight the "takeover of farmland by non-family corporations and foreign residents," Mitchell called for "public ownership of land," which "would be leased back to farmers with both security of tenure and the right to pass on title to heirs guaranteed." He also called for a publicly owned agricultural service industry providing farm machinery at cost.

Other key parts of the Waffle program defended by Mitchell included full legislative protection of workers' right to organize, and extension of contract negotiating rights to cover "pollution control, industrial planning, and the uses of the product being produced." On the position of women, the left called for equal pay, non-discrimination in hiring and promotions, day care facilities and voluntary abortions. The left called for measures to give Indian and Metis peoples "control over their lives and resources."

Waffle supporters called for internal democracy in the NDP, and the right of constituencies to recall MLAs. They advocated an autonomous women's organization and reaffirmed the necessity of an autonomous youth organization. (As Young New Democrats president Fred Nelson reminded the convention, the YND has been seriously harassed by the right-wing majority of the party executive for its pro-Waffle stance.)

The Waffle intervention dominated the convention sessions and prompted a response from the right which has further polarized the left and right forces in the party. The right wing campaigned furiously to remove Bev Currie, a Waffle supporter, from the presidency of the party. Although Currie lost the election, he managed to pick up 306 votes — well over a third of the total vote.

This tension was reflected in the debate on the resolutions brought to panels and the convention floor. All key Waffle positions were presented; although none of them passed they did receive considerable support.

The Waffle group ran candidates for all leadership positions. Although none won executive posts, some received the same proportion of votes as Mitchell.

The Waffle group held enthusiastic campaign and caucus meetings throughout the convention. One meeting attracted four hundred people. A large number were women. Waffle women met independently during the convention, as well.

At a final meeting of the caucus after the convention, the Waffle delegates agreed that the caucus had taken an important step forward in campaigning around its own program and leadership candidate. (There had been some disagreement about this before the convention.) They arranged meetings to plan the continuing fight for their views inside the party at "the grass roots." Many plan to attend the cross-country Waffle conference in Toronto August 1-2.

Don Mitchell

Sask. radicals face trial

Trials of twelve summonsed for participating in a demonstration in Regina against the U.S. army band and chorus will begin on August 7. Those who have appeared in court have been charged with "participating in a riot" and "disturbing the peace."

The twelve were part of a picket line of 100 who protested the presence of the U.S. army chorus at a concert May 14 sponsored by the Regina Kinsmen. When a number of protesters attempted to speak to the audience to explain why they opposed the U.S. army chorus presence, they were set upon and attacked by a number of Kinsmen.

The Saskatchewan radical newspaper Prairie Fire points out that none of the offending Kinsmen have yet been charged. The arrests, it believes, mark "a startling new offensive against dissident groups in the city." The issuing of the summonses coincided with public statements by police chief Arthur Cookson denouncing the university left, and attacking the immorality of young people whose source, he claimed, was nothing less than the work of an "international organization."

Vancouver Women's Caucus debates structure, program

by Joan Campana

VANCOUVER — The 60 women who attended the June 20-21 weekend conference of the Vancouver Women's Caucus participated in a heated if often unclear discussion centering on two main themes: what kind of a movement do we want, and how do we go about building it at this time.

Saturday's discussion revolved around a group of women who were leaving the Caucus, who call themselves the Vancouver Women's Liberation Movement. Their paper called for a "revolutionary communist" women's party, attracting women on that basis, and operating through "work-living collectives" of women. Believing women to be already fully aware of their oppression, they opposed educational mass actions such as the abortion campaign as "an insult to women" and counterposed confrontation type actions to "fight imperialism." These women left after the Saturday session.

The Sunday discussion moved on to the question of priorities for work, in large part skirting the question of the character of the movement posed by the Saturday walk-out. A position paper submitted by Young Socialist members of the caucus called for a non-exclusionist movement open to all women in agreement with the movement's general aims. The YSers stressed the importance of the abortion campaign carried to date, and advocated building it still further in the future.

Opponents of the YS proposal misrepresented it by calling it a "single-issue" approach, and accused the YSers of trying to turn the Caucus into a mere abortion committee. YSers replied that the value of an abortion campaign was that far from restricting the movement to a "single issue," it reaches out to broad layers of women drawing them to an ever-widening awareness of their overall position in society, and teaches them to question the basis of that society which has oppressed them for so long.

The abortion question cuts across the basic divisions among women — those in the home, those working, those in schools. As an elementary question all women face, it is a key aspect at this time of women's liberation as a whole.

Discussion polarized into two opposing positions. The YS proposal was countered by a proposal from Jean Rands, who seemed in agreement with many of the arguments of the women who had left the caucus. Rands stated the Caucus should play down the abortion campaign and orient to organizing working women, concretely through the formation of a women's union, chartered as an official union.

Recognizing the need for an orientation to working women, YSers questioned the means proposed to carry it out. A campaign for abortions, they pointed out, had far greater possibilities to involve working women than a prematurely constituted "union." A small, isolated women's union could well end up exposing to victimization those it attempted to defend. More could be achieved by challenging organized labor, with its great power, to respond to the needs of women by making contact with women in unions and working to raise the question of women's rights there. But this too required, first, actions which involved working women in some numbers.

The conference finally endorsed the Rands proposal in a somewhat unclear manner, voting against the YS position in a 24-17 vote. The conference began a process of clarification and opened up the debate which will and must continue.

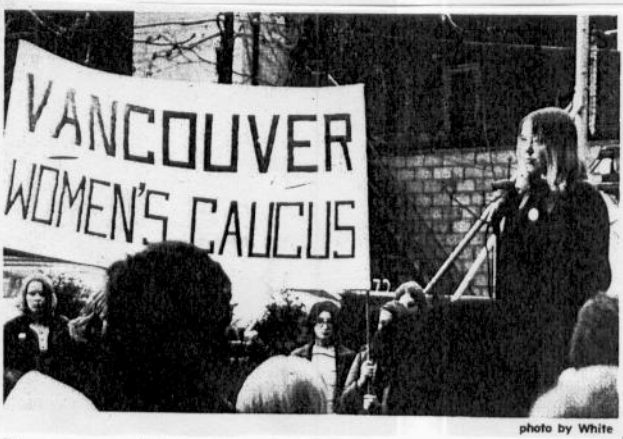

photo by White

Vancouver Women's Caucus initiated the cross-country caravan to Ottawa demanding women's right to abortions. Here Mary Trew (right) speaks to pro-abortion rally.

labor Challenge #12 Jul 1970

Plan women's liberation high school conference

by Ellie Kirzner

TORONTO — An open high school conference on women's liberation has been called for early in September. This proposal of the high school workshop at the conference of the Toronto Women's Caucus on June 27 was greeted with enthusiasm by the 60 or so men and women who came together to discuss the varying problems of women's liberation.

The conference, the first major activity of the newly formed group, was opened by two major addresses. The first, given by Liz Barkley, a teacher from York Township discussed the way in which our society defines the personality and role of women. "A young women," she pointed out, "is conditioned to be pretty — to be pleasing. She sees herself only as she reacts to others. By the time a girl enters school at the age of six, society has already attempted to tailor her to meet its requirements. Her toys, brooms, Barby dolls, have taught her her role — to care for others, and she already knows that to be pretty gains her a multitude of rewards."

The second address was given by Debby Fraleigh, a high school student and one of the initiators of the York Memorial collegiate Women's Liberation Group. "On the surface," she said, "schools don't seem to teach girls they are different. The reality is that they do. In the first place openly, by the division between shop and home economics, and by the conscious streaming of women into nursing, secretarial work, dental assistantships, etc. Secondly by the complicated web of subtler things — what is taught is not as important as learning how to act in society, how others will treat you and how they will respond to you."

A notable feature of the conference was the men's workshop which met to discuss how men could relate to the women's struggle.

The most important discussion took place in the high school workshop, where besides the proposal for a conference, the group decided to pressure high school student councils into supporting women's liberation groups, and agreed to the presentation of a brief to the coming conference of women public school teachers.

Cheri DiNovo, the chairwoman, reported on two future projects of the Toronto Women's Caucus. A meeting is being organized for Jo O'Brien, of the English magazine Socialist Woman. In addition, a protest is planned at the Metro Toronto police annual beauty contest on July 25.

Cheri DiNovo

LSA launches new forums

"The experiences of union militants in Sudbury show more clearly than anywhere else the need to join in building a socialist organization." This was the theme of Ross Dowson's address at a forum in Sudbury's Mine Mill workers hall on June 26.

The meeting sponsored by the League for Socialist Action, is the first of a regular series of public forums in Sudbury.

Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA, discussed urgent problems of the area, such as industrial pollution which has become a serious health hazard in the region. Socialism was the only solution to this and similar problems, he said, explaining the LSA's program to achieve this goal.

The next Sudbury forum, on the problem of pollution, is planned for July 17.

League for Socialist Action supporters in St. Catherines have also launched a series of regular public forums, held the last Sunday of every month. At the first meeting on May 24, an audience of 30 heard Ross Dowson speak on "The way out — a socialist solution."

At the June 28 forum the featured speaker was John Riddell, recently returned from a tour of the Caribbean. Riddell discussed how Canadian imperialism's holdings in the West Indies help strengthen its hand in its struggle against Canadian labor, and called for workers solidarity with the West Indian revolutionary struggle.

B.C. labor faces union busters

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What's with the Parti Quebecois?

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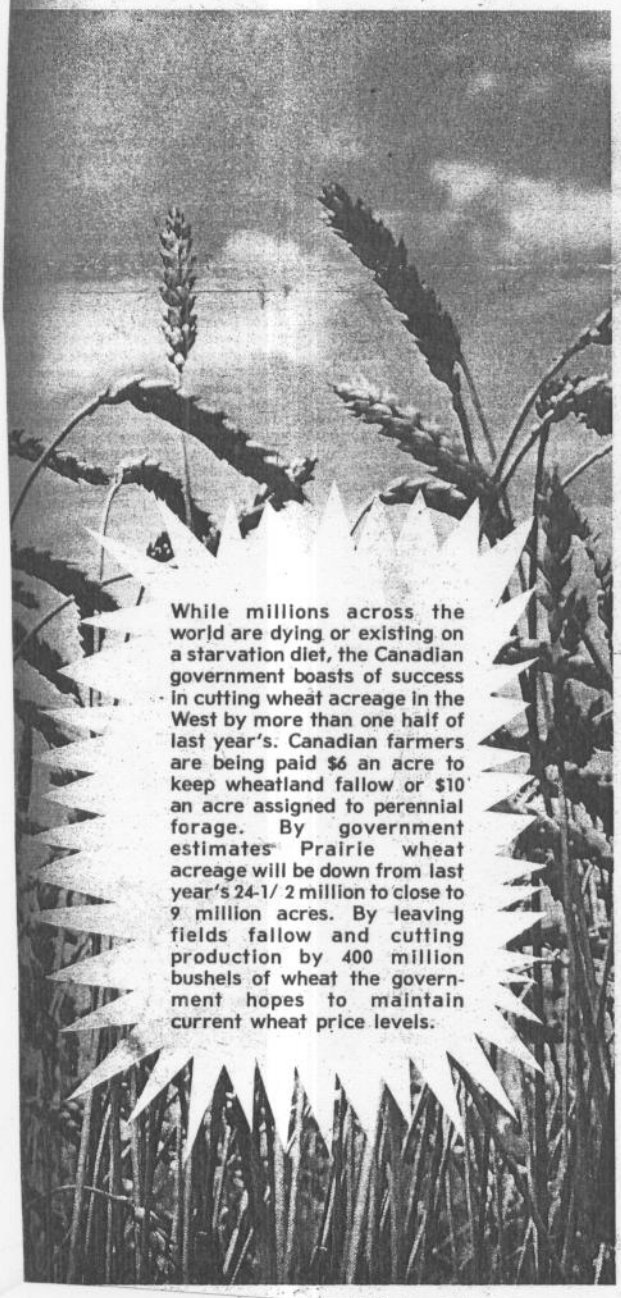
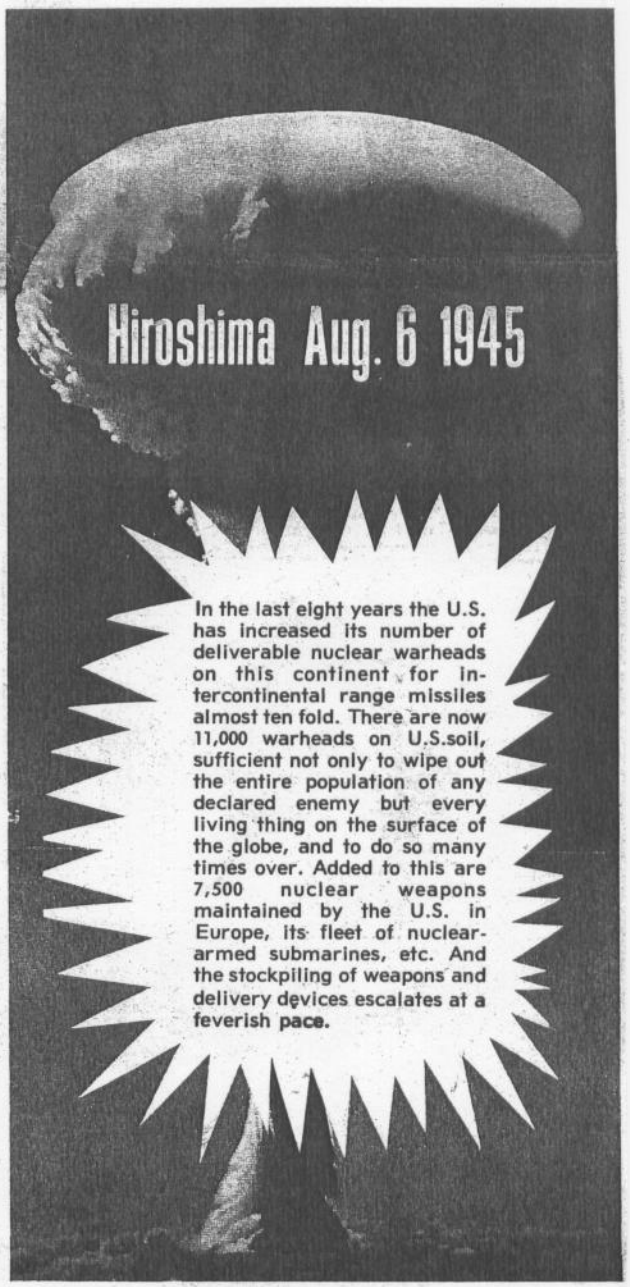
Hydrogen bomb & wheat cutback pose challenge of a new society



While millions across the world are dying or existing on a starvation diet, the Canadian government boasts of success in cutting wheat acreage in the West by more than one half of last year's. Canadian farmers are being paid $6 an acre to keep wheatland fallow or $10 an acre assigned to perennial forage. By government estimates Prairie wheat acreage will be down from last year's 24-1/ 2 million to close to 9 million acres. By leaving fields fallow and cutting production by 400 million bushels of wheat the government hopes to maintain current wheat price levels.

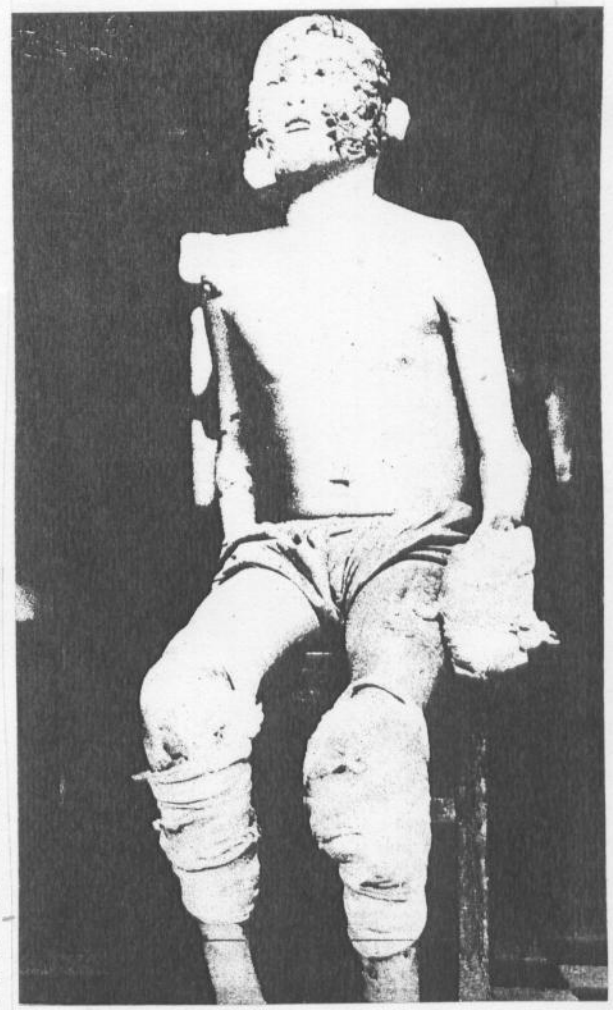


In the last eight years the U.S. has increased its number of deliverable nuclear warheads on this continent for intercontinental range missiles almost ten fold. There are now 11,000 warheads on U.S.soil, sufficient not only to wipe out the entire population of any declared enemy but every living thing on the surface of the globe, and to do so many times over. Added to this are 7,500 nuclear weapons maintained by the U.S. in Europe, its fleet of nuclear-armed submarines, etc. And the stockpiling of weapons and delivery devices escalates at a feverish pace.

#13-Jul-1970

labor Challenge

H-bomb trump in warmakers' hand



by Jacquie Henderson

This is a child of the bomb. For his short life all he has known is war. He wasn't even born on August 6, 1945 when the U.S. exploded the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima. He is Vietnamese, the victim of the same barbarous policy that murdered over 300,000 of his Japanese sisters and brothers and mained many thousands more in two nuclear blasts twenty-five years ago. Today people are still dying in Japan from the effects of these blasts and their nuclear fallout.

But, whether we are Vietnamese, Japanese, American, Canadian, we are all children of the bomb. We live under the constant threat of annihilation in a nuclear holocaust. We are conditioned to stop worrying and forget the bomb. But we must never forget it. It is always there, looming over the world. We are reminded of it in the ever-present fact of war; in the policy of aggression that thinks nothing of destroying whole countrysides with chemical and germ warfare and of napalming small children; in the strategy of imperialism that reasons that in order to save the country we must kill all the people in it.

We hear the words "overkill," "preemptive nuclear war" and "nuclear weapons for defense purposes only." It all sounds so insane. Surely they would never risk using it again...or would they?

In 1954, long before the U.S. was publicly involved in the Vietnam war, Eisenhower arranged to give the French nuclear weapons to drop on Vietnam. According to a public speech made by the French opposition leader of the time, Mendes France, "The warships carrying atomic aviation material were loaded and en route. President Eisenhower was to have asked Congress April 26 for authorization. Luckily the project of the U.S. intervention was set aside by Britain and public opinion in the U.S."

They say the bomb will never be used — except for self-defense. But Hiroshima and Nagasaki show this to be a lie. Two cities and hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were destroyed, not to bring about an end to World War Two, but rather to launch World War Three.

Japan was already defeated when the bombs were dropped. For over a month before the bombing, Japan had being trying to surrender — on the same terms accepted by the U.S. two days after Nagasaki. On July 6, 1945, exactly one month before the bomb was unleashed on Hiroshima the Swedish government informed the U.S. government that Japan wanted to enter surrender negotiations through the King of Sweden.

But the bomb was dropped away. Its purpose? — to show the world's people who their real rulers were — U.S. imperialism. They had to display their monster weapon to show the USSR, any other people that had any thought of opposing their imperialist aims, that they had better keep in their place. The bomb was developed not to prevent war, not to ensure the balance of power," but to turn back the tide of revolutions that threaten the future of imperialism.

The nuclear arms race is the product of the aggressive character of U.S. imperialism. It uses the bomb as a club to keep the world safe for profits. Brutal U.S. aggression against the people of Vietnam, Cambodia, the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, the Arab countries, reminds every people that if they desire to wrest their country free from capitalism they will have to be prepared to suffer the consequences — napalm, nerve gas, defoliants, and maybe even nuclear annihilation.

The U.S. aims not just to preserve present holdings but also to gain back those countries that have wrested themselves free from capitalism.Cuba, North Vietnam and North Korea have all been subjected to attempts at reconquest by imperialism. We hear open threats of attack against China and veiled ones against the USSR. The workers states are the ultimate goal of U.S. aggression.

The capitalist rulers of the world are prepared to defend their interests by any means necessary. They know that the demands of the world's peoples to control their own destinies, to be freed from a profit hungry system that benefits a few by exploiting many, that these demands threaten their very existence as a class. So, to them, nuclear war is very much of a lesser evil. Thus they build their bomb shelters and stuff their computer into them, hoping that when that day comes they will be able to survive to start over agains.

But these cops of the world in the Pentagon have made sure they are not policing the world alone. From the beginning they have foisted nuclear weapons on their allies. In 1963 the U.S. made a deal with the Liberals and Tories to bring nuclear weapons into Canada for our "defense." The New Democratic Party campaigned against it and an anti-war movement of thousands mobilized against it. But this movement wasn't strong enough to change the warmakers plans.

Canada is not only in a strategic political

→2

position in the nuclear war drive, we are also in a strategic military position. Canada is right in the middle of any atomic war against the Soviet Union. The U.S. has developed Anti — Ballistic Missiles that that are designed to explode right over Canada so that most of the U.S. could theoretically be able to survive a nuclear war.

Why, then, don't they use the bomb? Why don't they drop it on Southeast Asia and finish the war there? But if the "conventional" extension of the war into Cambodia caused such a crisis in the U.S. think of the reaction a nuclear bomb would create. And they can't very well bomb their own cities to end the revolt in them. Besides, when you're after "tea and tungsten in Vietnam" as Eisenhower explained it, it is preferable not to have to totally destroy your source of future profits — not to mention that the prospects for surviving nuclear retaliation are not bright.

Just as the reaction against the use of the bomb caused them to pull back in 1954, they have many times in the face of opposition. They are extremely cautious in their military policy as their strategy in South East Asia shows. They involved the U.S. militarily step by step, watching at each juncture to see how strong the reaction from the "enemy" — primarily the mighty Soviety Union — would be. As the Soviet Union abstained from defending the Vietnamese revolution they became bolder and bolder. "Advisors" became troops. The war in the South became the war in the North. The war in Vietnam, the war in Southeast Asia.

But if these moves were not restricted by the Soviet Union, they were restricted by the response in Vietnam and in the U.S. itself, the response of the growing anti-war movement around the world that demands an end to U.S. aggression in South East Asia.

Countless nuclear disarmament talks have taken place, yet no disarmament takes place. The Soviet Union and China can't unilaterally disarm or the U.S. would attack them immediately. The U.S. capitalists refuse to give up the ultimate line of defense of their system. They can't since only by force, only by waging war can it temporarily resist the tide of world revolution. Peace means to the U.S. rulers the halt of revolutions. And, much as the Soviet bureaucracy would like to assure peaceful coexistence with capitalism world's peoples refuse to be blackmailed into accepting oppression.

The only ultimate defense against nuclear war is the defeat of imperialism — the disarming of the war makers and the wresting of power from them. The anti-Vietnam war movement show the way to do this. In Vietnam the people are fighting a life and death struggle to kick out the imperialists. In Canada and other complicit countries, the anti-war movement is mobilizing people to demand this government end its support of the war and its involvement. In the U.S. itself the American people are demanding the troops be brought home. This world movement is the best immmediate defense against war. Millions of people throughout the world are realizing the nature of imperialism and are engaging in a struggle against it.

In the process they are struggling for control of their lives, for a socialist world. Only a world run in the interests of humans, not the insane drive for profits, can eliminate war as a way of life and use nuclear power for the progress of humanity.

A workers world — or none! The grim alternative posed by the imperialists must be answered through the active struggle of the working people of the world to disarm the war makers and create their own new world of peace and brotherhood.

B.C. student defense "victory"

VANCOUVER — The prolonged court trials of the 114 arrested during the occupation at Simon Fraser University in November 1968 have finally concluded. Of the seven defendents who pleaded not guilty, three won the dropping of charges against them. The arrest of the 114 was the university administration's response to an occupation demanding a democratic and equal university admissions policy.

The case caused a scandal in the Vancouver left when the majority of the accused, including all prominent "new left" leaders among the arested, pleaded guilty to the charges. The seven who pleaded not guilty, who incuded the Young Socialists arrested, went on to fight the charges through the courts.

The Committee to Aid the SFU 114, in a statement concluding its work to defend the arrested, points to the outcome of the trials of the seven as a modest victory, and an encouragement to the student movement.

Of the $1,000 needed to pay the fines of the remaining four convicted, $350 has already been raised. The committee requests that further contributions be sent c/ o John Macey, 312 Main St., Vancouver 4, British Columbia.

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Protest war drive Aug. 8

Antiwar committees across Canada are planning actions August 8 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the explosion of the atomic bomb dropped by the U.S. on Hiroshima. The actions will relate this horrendous crime against the people of Japan to the present-day U.S. aggression against the people of Southeast Asia. Called in response to the appeal from the American Peace Action Coalition for demonstrations during the week of August 6-9, the Canadian August 8 actions will be the main activity of the antiwar movement for the summer.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto is organizing an antiwar action in the form of a rally in City Hall Square on August 8 from 1 to 5 p.m. Toronto City Council refused the VMC permission to erect booths and displays in the square on the grounds that they were "political." But the action will feature antiwar speakers, poetry and music by folksinger Malvina Reynolds and a number of rock bands.

August 8 marches, demonstrations speak-outs are also planned for Ottawa, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver.

labor Challenge #13 Jul 1970

NDP left-wing project program, candidates for Ontario convention

by William Dalton

The Ontario Waffle group, meeting on July 11 in Toronto, decided not to run a leadership candidate in the October provincial convention of the New Democratic Party. Instead, the 80 participants decided on a convention strategy emphasizing the presentation of the caucus's program "For a Socialist Ontario..." and encompassing the contesting of other major party offices.

Jim Laxer of Kingston presented the report on the leadership race in the morning session. He held that this was not the right time to run for the NDP leadership in Ontario, largely because Waffle supporters lacked sufficient strength in the riding associations.

The debate on his presentation revealed a significant division within the group on the leadership question. Even Trotsky-baiting did nothing to stifle nearly two hours of debate.

Those who favored running a candidate pointed out that the leadership race could be used to reach a large number of groups in the NDP heretofore inaccessible to the caucus, and to build its base in the ridings. The leadership race would open to the caucus the pages of the NDP's press, the New Democrat. The candidate would have the opportunity to speak to all ridings, to distribute literature widely, and generally to talk to the party as a whole rather than only to those willing to come out to a Waffle meeting.

The vote was close. The margin resulted chiefly from the firm stand against presenting a candidate by those leading Waffle figures who had been posed as potential nominees. In addition, some speakers reflected the pressure of the high-powered leadership campaign of NDP MPP Stephen Lewis, talking in terms of the Waffle caucus being "smashed" if it confronted Lewis.

The only declared candidate to date, Lewis, is a leading figure in the party's right-wing establishment and has publicly attacked the Waffle caucus. A committee by such right-wing stalwarts as MP Andrew Brewin, Ken Bryden, and Reg Gisborn, has been formed to push the candidacy of another MPP, Walter Pitman.

In the afternoon session, workshops were held. One presented a new policy statement to be added to the Ontario Waffle Manifesto on agriculture. Another produced a paper giving a step-by-step orientation for work in the constituency associations, in making them real centers for social action.

A special meeting is planned in September where the Waffle caucus will choose what offices to contest and what candidates to run in the October convention.

Rally behind Morgentaler !

by Dena Blumenthal

MONTREAL — A group of individuals active in the fight against abortion laws met here July 6 to found the Morgentaler Defense Committee. Its aims are to win the dropping of all charges against Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the prominent Montreal physician recently charged with committing abortion, and conspiracy to commit abortion. It also aims to have abortion removed from the Criminal Code.

The committee hopes to coordinate all the various activities now underway on the abortion issue, to launch speaking tours across the country, and to hold a giant rally within two months. Various prominent Montreal doctors, representatives of social workers and of the Montreal Centre de planification familiale (Family Planning Center) have pledged their support. A statement demanding abortion law repeal has been signed by 187 Montreal doctors.

A campaign to gather sponsors and money is underway. A button and poster are being produced to publicize the case and raise funds. The response to petitions doctors, nurses, social workers and the general public has so far been overwhelmingly in favor of abortion on request, and demonstrates the potential of the campaign to defend Morgentaler.

labor Challenge #13 Jul 1970

new factor in Quebec politics

What's with the Parti Quebecois?

by Dick Fidler

The success of the Parti Québécois in the April 29 Quebec election — it won close to 25 percent of the total vote, and the support of almost one in three French-speaking voters — has encouraged all Quebec nationalists and provoked some uneasy rethinking in the federal government.

Already, the executive of the powerful Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society, which boasts well over 100,000 members, mainly middle class has declared itself in favor of the formation of an independentist party to contest the next federal election, expected in 1972.

Certainly the strong support among broad sectors of the Québécois electorate, including the working class areas in Montreal's east end which elected six of the PQ's seven deputies, for a party whose main appeal was its call for an independent state of Quebec, shows that the thrust of Quebec politics is towards separation from the rest of Canada. Since this independentist sentiment has been expressed through the PQ, we are bound to ask what sort of independence this party proposes for the Quebec nation.

The answer is clearly indicated in two books published by the PQ during the election campaign. La Solution, the party's 125-page official program, was an overnight bestseller, with sales of over 60,000 (one for every 10 PQ voters). The other book, originally produced by the PQ's documentation committee for limited distribution to party militants, is entitled La Souveraineté et L'Economie (Sovereignty and the Economy).

These books are a rude shock to anyone in the left inclined to believe the current line in the daily press that the PQ is a nationalist, Quebecois equivalent of the New Democratic Party. To be sure, some modest reforms familiar to every NDPer are proposed — a capital gains tax, higher minimum wage, free university education, universal compulsory medicare etc.

But on housing for instance, the PQ calls only for more "social housing," without explaining whether this means public or private.

The PQ's labor program is truly ominous. Envisaging a greatly expanded intervention of the capitalist state in the trade unions, designed to avoid what it terms the "excessive scope of labor conflicts," it has overtones of the corporatist dream of labor-management "unity" — with provision for compulsory trade union membership for all workers, a complex apparatus of "tripartite participation" by bosses, government and unions in preventive conciliation commissions, and legal recognition of only

PARTI QUEBECOIS IN CONVENTION. Three thousand delegates and observers participated in the PQ convention last autumn, which ratified the PQ's procapitalist program.

René Lévesque

Jacques Parizeau

What's with the Parti Québécois?

by Dick Fidler
(from Labor Challenge, July 1970)

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Already, the executive of the powerful Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society, which boasts well over 100,000 members, mainly middle class, *(but also enjoying considerable working-class support –ed.)* has declared itself in favor of the formation of an independentist party to contest the next federal election, expected in 1972.

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Labor councils and federations will be recognized by the State provided they have a "Quebec character" and show "evidence of good faith." Significantly, even the Montreal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions felt obliged to dissociate itself from the PQ's labor program when it voted to endorse the party during the election.

Even the PQ's promise to make French the sole official language is seriously undercut by its pledge to "recognize the school rights of the English minority … from elementary school to university," that is, to preserve the English school system, a symbol and instrument of English-speaking capital's domination of Quebec and to continue to oppose the mass movement for a French unilingual school system.

As for the political forms of "sovereignty." the PQ proposes a presidential republic associated with Canada through a negotiated "monetary community and the essential elements of a common market." Quebec would withdraw from the military alliances NATO and NORAD, and would take its seat in the United Nations.

But the key aspect of the PQ program — what it calls the "essential economic content" of independence — most clearly reveals the utter inadequacy of the PQ's "solution."

La Souveraineté et 1'Economie vividly and eloquently details the shocking facts of Quebec's inequality as a nation within the Canadian confederation — its lower standard of living, higher unemployment, the serious income disparities between different regions within Quebec, etc.

Quebec's economy is increasingly oriented around light consumer goods industries and the export of raw materials and thus highly vulnerable to unfavorable developments in the world capitalist market. The PQ economists make it clear that the main problem lies in the fact that Quebec industry is not owned by Québécois, that is, that the Quebec economy has not developed as a national economy, but as a subordinate part of world imperialism, a source of raw materials, cheap labor, and a market for finished goods produced elsewhere. Of the 50 big corporations which account for 75 percent of Quebec's industrial production, only three are controlled by Québécois capitalists. (The largest is Bombardier, the motor toboggan manufacturer, which is llth on the list.)

Doesn't this analysis confirm in striking fashion what socialists have maintained all along, that the only "solution" to Quebec's national inequality lies in the Québécois taking their industries out of the hands of foreign capital, "nationalizing" them in the fullest sense of the word and operating them in a planned economy under workers control?

That's just what the Parti Québécois does **not** propose. You won't find imperialism as a word or concept mentioned once in either of these books. Instead, in *La Souveraineté et*

1'Economie, we are told that if only the Quebec (bourgeois) state is given the power to "play the role of any normal government" Quebec will be able to overcome its underdevelopment.

Foreign investment will be positively welcomed. As *La Souveraineté* puts it, a "sovereign" State of Quebec will be financed in large part "from foreigners desirous of coming to do business in Quebec because here there is one of the most lucrative markets in the world. Foreigners who, moreover, would come in much greater numbers if we had, instead of a semi-State, a State fully responsible and endowed with the necessary powers to carry out a real development policy."

==========(start BOX)==========

When should a state medicare plan not cover psychiatrists' fees? When you are a psychiatrist, your name is Camille Laurin, and you are the parliamentary leader of the Parti Québécois in the Quebec National Assembly.

In an unprecedented united action, Quebec's labor federations, with a total membership of over 600,000, are waging a united campaign to force the Bourassa government to make its medicare plan apply to all doctors. But PQ leader Laurin, a prominent psychoanalyst, moved in committee stage to exempt psychiatrists with their own insurance schemes from the bill. So far the trade unions, some of which endorsed the PQ in the election, have not commented publicly.

==========(end box)==========

It doesn't require much imagination to picture that sort of "development." Quebec has experienced it rather extensively for about a hundred years.

In fact, the PQ take a great pains to assure us that what it is proposing is not radical at all. Most of the essential "tools" and "levers" for the "competent" administration of the State of Quebec have been created, particularly during the last ten years; they include the traditional instruments of postwar capitalist economies, such as government investment funds, heavy subsidization of private industry (to guarantee profits), the occasional "mixed" enterprises and considerable investment in "overhead social capital" like educational facilities.

All that remains is to complete the process — by giving Quebec full powers and ending thereby the "inefficient" *(sentence incomplete in original –ed.)*

"The organization and experimentation phase is now terminated," says *La Souveraineté.* "It permitted us among other things to initiate several thousands of individuals to a modern economic activity."

This is the voice of Quebec's new middle class, the well-paid "technocrats," the civil servants and managerial elements the would-be bourgeoisie who comprise a large part of the PQ cadres and leadership. Not only do they almost all come from the more traditional bourgeois parties — the PQ is itself a combination of

dissident Liberals (Lévesque), Socreds, (Gregoire) as well as the petty bourgeois nationalists of the old Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale, etc. — but they are all firmly wedded to the bourgeois outlook. Longstanding ideologists for the bourgeoisie, they want to **use** foreign capital, not expropriate it.

The last chapter of *La Souveraineté*, a series of questions and answers, most clearly reveals the completely bourgeois, pro-imperialist character of the PQ's program.

Particularly instructive is the astute discussion of the possibility of economic reprisals by English Canadian and American capital against a sovereign Quebec. At present, we are told, it is "one of the rules of the game" that English Canadian capital strongly opposes Quebec's independence. But as the movement develops, the big capitalists will develop a "dual strategy."

"If it is clearly apparent that the Parti Québécois can take power, the corporations which will have pulled out all the stops to avoid the spread of the idea will exert just as strong pressures on both the federal and Quebec governments to see that if separation is to occur, it occurs in order, in moderation, in as rational a framework as possible. 'Don't upset the applecart' (in English in the original)...

“In fact, once they have made this turn, the principal adversaries of independence will become its principal allies."

As for the American corporation, "it has above all learned to live and develop amidst an extraordinary variety of political regimes. It is obvious that violent extremism, continual disorder, very discordant laws, and excessive taxation, hinder its operations. But within reasonable limits, it knows how to operate and it does operate. Its competitive powers are so strong, so sustained, that it would not consider leaving any market or territory provided it can function normally there...."

Thus the PQ blatantly appeals to the foreign capitalists and their governments for their support as the best defense against the rising mass movement for an independent Quebec. The final section of *La Souveraineté* is an extended polemic against "doctrinairism," the PQ's substitute word for socialism.

The PQ's electoral appeal, of course, is not its support for foreign capital, but its nationalist rhetoric and its offer of political "sovereignty."

Yet everything about this party — its origins, its leadership, its program, its commitment to parliamentarism and opposition to the mass extraparliamentary movements on issues like unilingualism — indicate its thoroughly bourgeois character.

It is even doubtful that a PQ government, borne to power on the crest of a powerful mass movement for independence, could maintain the social stability required by its bourgeois policies without resorting to the most repressive

forms of rule — dispensing with parliament, measures to suppress the trade unions, etc. A PQ government would be a reactionary government.

The PQ program shows how utterly unable the party is to resolve the national oppression of Quebec, which is rooted precisely in the capitalist nature of its economy.

With over 90,000 members, most of them workers, the PQ, even as an electoral machine, is an extremely unstable phenomenon. It represents above all a transient stage in the developing mass movement, before the working class has been able to assert itself as the revolutionary leadership of the national struggle.

Balancing between the mass movement and an (at present) hostile Establishment in English Canada and Quebec, the PQ may be capable of taking what appear to be anti-imperialist stances on particular issues in the next period. But in the last analysis, it will remain an agency of imperialism.

For the workers, the PQ is a detour. Insofar as their nationalism leads them to anticapitalist conclusions, they will have to move beyond the PQ, along the road of independent class action, and in the process to smash this obstacle in their path.

(end)

undated, found in 1970 (mid-Aug.)

DEFEND DEMOCRACY IN WOMEN'S CAUCUS!

What Has Happened?

At the General Meeting on 13 August of Vancouver Women's Caucus, a straw vote was taken on whether to expel members of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action from the Caucus. The vote was 21 for expulsion, 18 against. Notice of motion was given to expel YS/LSA members formally at the next General Meeting on 27 August.

What Is The Meaning of this Attack?

This is not simply an attack on YS/LSA, but an attack on freedom of thought, speech and action within the women's liberation movement and within VWC. It is an attack on minority rights. It is an attempt to constrict the growth of the movement by repressing diversity of opinion, and by refusing to recognize the rights of individuals and groups to think for themselves. What is happening now in VWC deserves the serious attention of every woman who believes in the enormous importance of the women's liberation movement, and who wants to be part of its free and democratic growth.

The present leadership of Women's Caucus proclaims the necessity of organizing women to fight for their liberation, of encouraging them to develop their capacity for struggle, of getting them to recognize their enemy, capitalism, and to plan for its defeat. In the YS/LSA women they have precisely such a group; and now they are trying to expel them. They cannot bear that any group might have some views which differ from theirs, and they do not wish to undertake political debate with such a group. Most important of all, they do not wish to lose control of VWC to its general membership through the institution of democratic procedures, which the YS/LSA and others in the Caucus call for. This is why they talk about "other loyalties" and "cold political people" and "trying to take over". These phrases are used to mask an inability to discuss political issues, and a lack of interest in the growth of a strong, free, democratic mass movement for women's liberation, a movement uninhibited by attempts to impose policy from the top.

What Are YS/LSA?

YS/LSA women belong to a revolutionary socialist organization of both men and women which sees its task as the liberation of all humanity, and women's liberation as an essential part of the world socialist revolution. They are active in other areas of work, such as the anti-war movement and the NDP, which they see as essential to the building of socialism. But, as socialist women, they see their main task as the liberation of that half of humanity most oppressed -- women. Women in the YS/LSA have been active for decades in fighting for women's liberation, long before the movement of today existed. Their historical forerunners are women like Rosa Luxemburg. But, unlike others in the movement who call themselves revolutionaries or socialists, they do not want to impose their socialism on women. They want to build a democratic mass movement for women's liberation which will include women

with many different political ideas -- a movement which will belong not to any one group, but which has the potential of belonging to all the women in Canada.

YS/LSA Women in Vancouver Women's Caucus.

In recent months YS/LSA women have been participating actively in VWC. At the conference on June 20-21, which was called to plan future strategy, they held that the Caucus should continue the abortion campaign which had been so well carried to that point. Countered to this position was a proposal that the Caucus should focus on the educational system and on organizing working women. This second position carried, and the YS/LSA women naturally accepted this majority decision. Since the conference, they have been very active in the Working Women's Workshop (currently carrying the successful Library Series), in developing the High School Workshop, in organizing the high-school women's conference, in working to raise money for the Caucus, on The Pedestal, and in painting and decorating the new headquarters. Now, however, they are confronted with a red-baiting campaign and the threat of expulsion. Why?

The Struggle for Democracy within Women's Caucus

For months, YS/LSA members and other women within VWC have been pressing for the use of some of the basic methods of achieving internal democracy -- electing the leadership (Co-ordinating Committee); having chairwomen, agendas, and speakers' lists at meetings; using the vote when decisions are being made; using the general membership meetings as the place for Caucus decision-making. Voting, of course, permits the opinion of every woman present to affect a final decision, and allows for clear understanding by all of what decision has been made. Chairwomen, agendas, and speakers' lists allow many positions to be heard, instead of only those women speaking who have the loudest voices and the least interest in a full and rounded discussion. An elected leadership would be responsible to the whole membership of the Caucus and accountable for its decisions and actions. Regular and frequent General Meetings would greatly improve the internal coherence of the Caucus, and would ensure that all members had a part in shaping policy.

Attitude of the Present Leadership to Internal Democracy

The Caucus leadership rejects these methods of democratization, claiming that they are formal, repressive, and constricting. They downgrade the importance of the general membership meetings to the point of questioning the validity of decisions taken at them. They prefer to operate on the "informal" level -- the level on which decisions with which they disagree can be most easily discarded, the level upon which responsibility by leaders to membership is most easily avoided. Anything which smacks of orderly decision-making or responsibility of leaders to membership is anathema to them. As the YS/LSA, unafraid to be held responsible for its actions, began to make headway in VWC in its battle together with other members of the Caucus to assert democratic control of policy and leadership by all members, the "leaders" became more and more frenzied in their slander campaign.

Minority Rights & The Rights of Individuals Within VWC

One way of testing the democratic nature of an organization is to examine the attitude towards minority groups. The present leadership talks a great deal about dialogue, discussion, and concensus; but the 13 August meeting made it clear that, according to this leadership, it is not enough for a minority to accept a majo rity decision, work hard within the framework of the priorities established by that decision, and help carry the program of the Caucus. What is required is that the minority change its mind, abandon its own ideas and opinions, and be in unconditional intellectual agreement with the majority. This borders on thought control. This concept is a threat to every individual woman within the Caucus, and to the free development of the women's liberation movement.

Complementary to the recognition of minority rights within the Caucus is the recognition of the value of every individual woman to the organization and to the women's liberation movement as a whole. In spite of the present leadership's constant proclamations about sensitivity, etc., the Caucus suffers greatly from the condescension and contempt meted out to women who are new to the movement, and from the tendency to intimidate and exclude them; from the discrimination againstolder women, and women whose "life-styles" are "conventional"; and from the belittling of the importance of the hard work done by some women in carryihg the day-to-day operation of the Caucus. This is elitism.

Elitist Politics

This elitism carries over into the political understanding and perspectives of the leadership of VWC. Consider what happened about the abortion campaign. VWC initiated the first cross-Canada women's liberation action on this issue, confronted the Federal Government and Trudeau, and acted as a catalyst in developing a major public debate on this issue. The Caucus put forward the truly revolutionary call for Free Abortions on Demand. Then, suddenly, VWC dumped abortion. The leadership now says that abortion is a liberal reform issue, it can be carried by other people, we have more important things to do, and the abortion campaign was a public relations stunt. It does not matter that the so-called liberal abortion laws passed in England, New York and elsewhere come no where near the concept of free abortion on demand; that the dangers of the pill are becoming ever more apparent; that women are in bondage still and will be until they have control over their own bodies. The elite does not have time to waste in fighting for basic human rights; they are willing to leave that to others "with a lower level of consciousness". They do not wish to work with people who are already in struggle (in trade unions for example), or on issues which are "live" right now. They want to dictate their own terms to women's liberation, and to insist that everyone should agree with them.

The Pedestal Editorial Board: Undemocratic Elitism At Work

The nature of the present leadership of the Caucus has nowhere been more clearly exemplified than in the struggle over the Editorial Board for the Pedestal. The proposal for this Board was put forward at the Conference

by the group of women most active on the newspaper, which included both YS/LSA members and some members of the present Caucus leadership. The proposal was debated at the conference and at the General Meeting immediately following, where it was approved in principle. By the time of the next General Meeting, the "leaders" had withdrawn their support for the proposal. They now held that it was formal, respressive, and constricting. However, the proposal was approved by a vote of 18 to 6. YS/LSA members, who supported this democratic propocal strongly, are now accused of stacking the General Meeting where it was passed. What are the facts? Nine YS/LSA members were present; therefore, nine independent women voted for the proposal. Two or three of the pressnt leadership were there; therefore only a very few independent women supported their view, for a total vote of 6. In short, a majority decision was made that the Pedestal should have an Editorial Board. It has since become clear that some members of the Caucus are simply not willing to recognize the concept of a majority decision. They are trying to delay its implementation, and thereby to obstruct the growth of the Caucus and of the women's liberation movement.

Cause of the Present Crisis

It is therefore easy to understand why the present attack on YS/LSA has been precipitated by the Editorial Board affair. The elitist and undemocratic leadership of the Caucus sees the struggle of YS/LSA women and others in the organization for this democratic institution as a threat to their control. They have now moved to expel YS/LSA, and thus to remove from the Caucus a group which is struggling for democracy.

Right now, Women's Caucus is at the crossroads. Either the fight of YS/LSA and other women within the Caucus for democracy will win, the motion for expulsion be defeated, and the organization be placed firmly under the democratic control of the membership -- or Women's Caucus will wither and die. Expelling YS/LSA would not be a defeat for them, but for Vancouver Women's Caucus and for women's liberation. Far too many women have already come to a few meetings, been condescended to, ignored, alienated and excluded, and have left, demoralized and discouraged. Women's Caucus has done excellent and valuable work in the past. It must go on, and play its part in the international women's liberation movement as a free and democratic organization.

DEFEND DEMOCRACY IN WOMEN'S CAUCUS!

DEFEND NON-EXCLUSIONISM IN WOMEN'S LIBERATION!

DEFEAT THE WITCH-HUNT!

DEFEAT THE EXPULSION MOTION!

Joan Campana Cynthia Flood
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for

YOUNG SOCIALISTS - LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION

TOWARD CLARITY IN THE PRESENT DISCUSSION

If the YS/LSA paper "Defend Democracy in Women's Caucus" achieved nothing else, it forced the leadership to inform the over 600 supporters of Women's Caucus about their anti-democratic moves to exclude YS/LSA women from the Causu. The leadership's paper "Women's Caucus and the YS/LSA: A majority View" is typically arrogant. Do they represent the views of those 600 women? They did not even bother to inform them until the YS/LSA raised the matter.

The importance of the leadership's paper is that it makes clear the "reasons" being put forward by the leadership for using exclusion in Women's Caucus.

These reasons (summarized) are:
1. That the YS/LSA women refuse to accept the democratically determined working priorities of Women's Caucus.
2. That the YS/LSA persistently disrupts the work of the Cauccus and has turned it into a debating society because it disagrees with the present priorities.
3. That the YS is itself exclusionary and determines its strategy outside the caucus.
4. That the YS/LSA women's fight for the establishment of democratic decision making and control by the rank and file would only lead to consolidation of cliques.
5. That the YS/LSA women want to subordinate women's Caucus to the trade union and NDP bureaucrats.
6. That YS/LSA women develop their policies as part of a pre-determined strategy and not from the experience of the women's movement, itself.
7. That YS/LSA women themselves are violators of democracy (e.g. the anti-war conference of February 1969)
8. That the way to resolve differences over strategy is to split the movement and therefore the YS/LSA women should leave the Caucus because the leadership disagrees with their views.

Let's look briefly at each point.

1. While they claim that YS/LSA women have not accepted the democratic decisions of the Women's Caucus Conference (May-June) they produce not even one example. We, on the other hand, listed our activities in our document. We said we were active in the Pedestal, in the Working Women's Workshop, in the High School Workshop, in fund raising, in decorating the new headquarters, etc. Which of these are in violation of Caucus priorities?

2. Is it YS/LSA who is disrupting the Caucus' work? It is not we who are trying to drive the leadership out and spending all our energies on s uch a destructive task. It is they. We wanted an action to commemora te the 50th aniversary of women's suffrage in the U.S. They almost killed it. The Caucus decided on a midi-protest at the Bay. Only YS/LSA women participated. Where were the "leaders?" We have been trying to get the H igh School Workshop together to launch back-to-school actions. But Andrea Lebowitz (a signer of the so-called "majority" document) refuses either to call one or to try and turn over the registration list from the high school conference. (Where has "openness of information" gone?) We want action. It is

they who hold up the work of the Caucus and who violate its decsions. When will the overwhelming decsion to set up an editorial board for the Pedestal be implemented? You see, they disagree with that decsion and lo and behold they are refusing to implement it. But we are not demanding their expulsion.

3. They present the YS/LSA as secretive, clandestine and exclusionary. Their aim is to create the impression that the YS/LSA women participate in Women's Caucus to manipulate other women. What is the truth of this We have never tried to hide the fact that we are members of a revolutionary socialist organization. Revolutionary women are proud people and see no reason to hide their socialism. As socialist women we are obliged to present the socialist view on the issues under discussion before the Caucs. We meet and discuss our position and then present it at Caucus meetings. The present leadership meets very often itself but that is not subversive or manipulative in and of itself. Nor is it any more so when YS/LSA women meet.

Much has been made of the term democratic centralism. What is it. It means simply that we arrive at our position through democratic decision and then work seriously to implement them. It is because we take our views and our discussion so seriously that we work seriouslv to presnt them.

Are we exclusionary? No, we are not. Not only are we willing to discuss our views and our reasons for holding those views with any woman but we are willing to change those views (and have done so in the past) when other women show us better ideas and better ways to do things. Moreover, we invite all women to join the YS or the LSA and to participate with us in the formulation of our views. To join does not require that you know the right people or become part of the "in-group". It requires only general agreement with our basic views and a willingness to work to build a free, socialist Canada - a goal that requires and urgently demands the liberation of all women.

The leadership hopes to scare women into excluding us by purposely creating a campaign of suspicion reminiscent of the McCarthy period of anti-Communist hysteria. If a scare campaign can be stirred up then real discussion around real problems and issues can be cut off and destroyed. That is why such tactics are very dangerous to the whole women's liberation movement. Not only does such action violate the rights of those against whom it is directly aimed - it violates the rights of all members of the caucus and women everywhere.

4. We support democracy. Democracy must have clear means of expression. How do you know what the majority thinks unless a vote is taken? How do you hold the leadership responsible unless they are elected and have clear responsibilities? How do you break up a clique leadership if there are no formal means of changing the composition of the leadership? How can the rank and file democratically control Women's Caucus so long as General Meetings are constantly played down and dismissed as unimportant? Cliques operate best where everything is grey and shady, where they can't be pinned down to a clear decision or responsibility. Their hostility to this is clear in their document. On Page 2 they tell us that "non YS/LSA women are forced into rigid positions in order to counter the YS/LSA position." First, there are some non YS/LSA women who SUPPORT YS/LSA positions. Second, why are they <u>forced</u> to attack YS/LSA positions. Why do they hesitate to state their positions forthrightly and clearly?

5. Do we want to subordinate Women's Caucus to the NDP and labor bureaucrats? The leadership knows very well that is not true, that this is

a bald and conscious falsification of our position. What is our position?

In our view women can find powerful allies who are also against the capitalist system that oppresses us. First among these are the mass organizations of the working class - the trade unions and the NDP. We know that the present leaderships of these organizations daily betray the fight for women's liberation. We oppose these leaderships. We also know that they have betrayed the very workers who are their rank and file. We know that the rank and file of these organizations is pressed more and more into battle against these leaderships by the necessity of the ranks to fight for their own needs. It aids the struggle for rank and file control of these organizations when women demand of these leaders that they support women's liberation. We will not wait on them, of course, but it is important that Women's Caucus take notice of these organizations by advancing demands towards them - not shutting up and ignoring them and letting these sellout leaders off the hook. It by such a process that we can assist in exposing these leaderships and thereby aid in liberating these powerful and massive movements to ally with us in our struggle.

It is not that we want to subordinate Women's Caucus to these bureaucrats, but rather that the leadership hopes that they can ignore these massive organizations and thereby avoid the big battles that will develop to establish leaderships that truly fight for liberation.

6. Is YS/LSA' women's policy unrelated to the real women's movement - simply a part of some removed grand scheme? But it is the YS/LSA women who have fought for the abor ion campaign which has proved IN REAL LIFE to be an important issue for women and a mobilizer of women. It is we who pressed consistently to commemorate the winning of the vote for women in the U.S.A. 50 years ago along with many other organizations in the REAL women's movement. The leadership sat back in grand isolation and stalled. It is we who responded to the death of a Vancouver women by self-induced abortion. That is appallingly real. The leaders did not lift a finger. It is we who want to implement the Caucus decision to establish education as a priority by preparing through the High School Women's Workshop for the re-opening of school. It is the leadership, again, who has been stalling.

7. Are we hypocritical when we talk of democracy? Did we violate democracy at an anti-war conference in 1969? Let's look at that conference. It was called as an anti-war conference - specifically agai nst the war in Vietnam. But some, mainly from the SFU based Students for a Democratic University (since coll psed), decided they would make it a vague general conference against imperialism. They brought out everybody they could although almost none of them were active in vuilding the anti-war movement . By one vote they defeated those who had come to the conference to mobilize against the Vietnam war. The anti Vietnam war part of the conference simply told these people that we intended to organize an anti-war action anyway. They organized a demonstration on April 5, 1969 and we organized an anti-Vietnam war demonstration on April 6, 1969. Their demonstration mobilized 400. The anti-war demonstration mobilized 3000 the very next day. So who was the real majority - just as we ask the leadership of Women's Caucus (some of whom w helped organize that demonstration of 400) - Who are the real majority today? Do you speak for the over 600 supporters of Women's Caucus? You didn't even inform them of your vicious exclusion-ary policies until we forced your hand. Yet you claim you are the majority. Even if you brought down all the red-baiters you could find and won

this vote by a narrow margin, would that mean that a majority of women want their movement marred by undemocratic exclusionism - by purges of women who dare to disagree. The majority will never accept such actions and you will never speak for the majority in such cases.

8. The leadership's document concludes with the following two sentences. "It is part of the strength of the Women's Liberation Movement that it consists of many different gr ups organized around many different strategies. We must now separate in order to continue to fight for women's liberation."

These statements must be examined because they contain an extremely dangerous concept for the women's liberation movement. What is being said here is that every time a difference over strategy develops - every time the leadership finds itself opposed to another group of women, the other women have to leave the Caucus. Thus the movement must divide and subdivide into a series of small and weak grouplets.

What is required is exactly the opposite. The movements strength will be its capacity to discuss differences, test out new ideas and strategies in a free and democratic way - and on that basis to remain united and powerful and together. Women will not be liberated through tiny warring grouplets but by massive, unified and DEMOCRATIC organizations.

The leadership presents this concept because it does not wish to meet ideas with ideas. They respond instead with exclusion and expulsion. But by so doing they do great harm to the women's liberation movement.

SUPPORT A DEMOCRATIC, UNITED, ACTION-ORIENTED WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

DEFEAT THE WITCHHUNT
DEFEND DEMOCRACY IN WOMEN'S CAUCUS

Drafted and printed by YS/LSA women.

Report on 'Waffle' conference

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Postal workers solid against Ottawa's threats

Hats off to the 27,000 postal workers, who are standing firm against the Liberal government's stepped-up barrage of propaganda against their just wage demands. An Ottawa meeting of cross-country regional strike directors on August 15 unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed the firm position of their negotiating committee. Latest demands are only 2 cents below previous demand of 60 cents an hour increase.

Demand takeover of runaway plants

General strike called to back N.S. fishermen

by Dick Fidler

A general strike is shaping up in Cape Breton in support of Nova Scotia fishermen who have been on strike since early April for recognition of their union. On August 14, there were massive demonstrations on the Island sponsored by the Cape Breton Labor Council, which represents 40 affiliates with 15,000 members. The council has called a general strike for August 21 "unless the government intervenes and settles the strike."

The Nova Scotia Federation of Labor with 55,000 affiliated members has already indicated it will call a province-wide general strike "within a short period of time," in the words of NSFL president John Lynk, if the government does not force the companies to recognize and sign collective aggreements with the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union or, failing that, take over the three fish processing and packaging plants owned by Acadia Fisheries and Booth Fisheries.

The companies, both foreign-owned, are threating to close two of their three plants: Booth is abandoning its plant at Petit de Grat on August 20; Acadia has announced it is closing down its Mulgrave operation at the end of October. The sole reason for the closures is the companies' refusal to recognize the UFAWU. "We don't think we can run a viable operation with the UFAWU and Mr. (Homer) Stevens as its leader," says Acadia general manager A.L. Cadegan.

The Mulgrave plant was overhauled as recently as late 1969, and both companies have received extensive subsidies from both federal and provincial governments, including a long term $9 million loan to Acadia by the Nova Scotia Tory government.

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'MARCH OF CONCERN.' Nova Scotia fishermen, women and children marched in support of the fishermen's strike along Canso Causeway August 10. Demonstration was one of several expected to culminate in general work stoppage on Cape Breton island August 21.

photo by White

Leading new left radicals join Young Socialists

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Richard Thompson Joins Young Socialists

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NDP's left plans federal strategy

by William Dalton

About 200 members of the "Waffle" socialist group in the New Democratic Party met in Toronto during the August 1-3 weekend.

The conference, attended by students, academics, riding association activists and a scattering of trade unionsts from New Brunswick to British Columbia, decided to launch a major cross-country protest campaign against an impending sellout of Canadian energy resources to American interests. It elected a committee to campaign on this and other issues in the coming months and to build support for a Waffle candidate for the federal NDP leadership, to be nominated in mid-November. The conference also elected a 10-member steering committee to lead the Waffle group.

The Toronto meeting, held in the ultramodern Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, was the first national conference of the Waffle group since it blossomed forth as a socialist caucus in Winnipeg last year at the NDP federal convention. About three-fifths of the delegates were from Ontario, but another strong delegation came from Saskatchewan where the Waffle group made a very successful intervention in the recent provincial leadership convention, winning support from 25 percent of the delegates.

Mel Watkins, author of Watkins report on foreign ownership and a leading spokesman for NDP left.

The major part of the conference was taken up with panels and workshops on such issues as "anti-imperialist strategy," women's liberation, the left in social-democratic parties, organizing, labor strategy, etc. Although billed as a strategy conference, few votes were taken and there was little attempt to elaborate new policies for the Waffle group. Delegates were preoccupied with practical aspects of building the socialist wing of the NDP, in particular organizing for the forthcoming federal leadership campaign.

The agenda had originally said discussion would deal with "whether" the Waffle group would run for the leadership. But the conference dealt only briefly with the "whether" before moving on to actual specifics of the campaign. The mood was overwhelming for running a candidate. However, the majority of delegates were reluctant to name a candidate at this time.

Instead, a ten-member leadership committee was chosen to carry the Waffle program into the ridings and unions across the country. Each member of the committee — Mel Watkins, Jim Laxer, Kelly Crichton, Jackie Brown and Gil Levine from Ontario, John Conway and two others to be chosen from Saskatchewan, Cy Gonick and Sheila Kusiak from Manitoba — is considered to be a potential leadership candidate, and the final choice would be made in November. However, the strong feeling among many Waffle leaders that the group lacks a sufficiently strong base within the party to field its own candidate for the leadership raises the distinct danger that no candidate will in fact be named, unless significant new sources of support appear in the next few months.

Proposals to stop the impending deal between Ottawa and Washington on the sale of energy and resources, presented by Jim Laxer, project nationalization of energy sources and resource industries, and operation of the latter under workers and "community" control.

The campaign is to include publication of books, teach-ins and protest actions. The popular potential of the issue has already been noted by Ontario NDP leadership contender Stephen Lewis, a critic of the Waffle group, who has cautiously called for public ownership of *future* resources industries in Northern Ontario.

On other major issues in the left, the conference failed to make similar progress. A panel on women's liberation was a fiasco, partly because it was only hastily thrown together. Panelists failed completely to project any strategy for carrying women's liberation into the NDP. The discussion from the floor was characterized by the most abysmal male chauvinist interjections from many participants, particularly New Democratic Youth members, indicating the extent to which many Waffle activists need to be educated on this important question. With this in mind, perhaps, the women's caucus demanded and got guaranteed representation in the Waffle leadership: three out of ten of the campaign collective are women and five of the ten chosen for the national steering committee seats were filled by women. Several observers noted there were no women among the scheduled speakers at the entire three-day conference.

From its inception, the Waffle group has suffered considerable confusion on how to relate to the trade union base of the NDP. Some Waffle supporters, especially in B.C., have sought a shortcut to defeating the influence of the conservative trade union bureaucrats by advocating an end to the provision for union affiliation to the party. Others, influenced by the views of the Canadian Liberation Movement, a small group led by Danny Drache and centered on the University of Toronto campus, have reduced the problem of bureaucracy to the Internationals or "American" unions; according to these "nationalists," the solution lies in the formation of exclusively "Canadian" unions.

A plenary discussion on labor at the conference generally did not go beyond bemoaning the Waffle group's failure to build strong ties with organized labor. A couple of discussion papers which were not discussed came more to the point, however.

One of these, a paper drawn up by a committee struck off by the Banff regional

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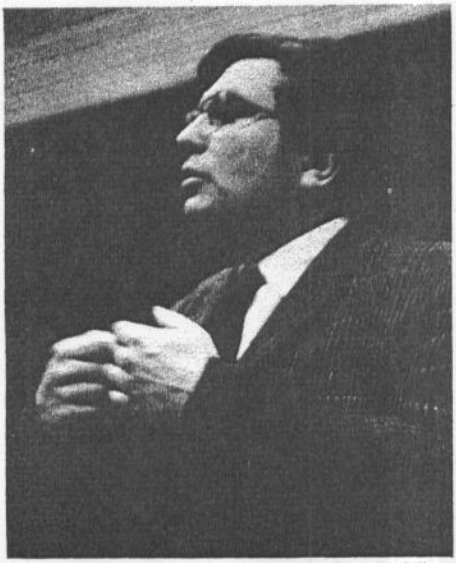


photo by Mintz

Cy Gonick, leading Waffle spokesman. An NDP MLA in Manitoba, he criticized in the house Premier Schreyer's capitulation to big business attack on auto insurance plan.

Waffle conference, entitled Labor and the NDP, presented a closely-reasoned case that "the trade unions are the basic and most powerful organizations of the working class and thus the main instrument for the NDP in its thrust for transforming our present capitalist society to a socialist one," and called for affiliation of all unions "regardless of CLC affiliation" to the NDP.

Unfortunately, there was little discussion at the conference of the key weakness of the Waffle group — its lack of a clear socialist strategy *oriented toward the NDP*. Not that the leading Waffle supporters are unaware of this problem. Summing up the conference on behalf of the steering committee, Don Mitchell, the left's candidate for the Saskatchewan leadership, emphasized the importance of integrating into the NDP as the most urgent task ahead. There are three major areas of activity, he said — developing an improved means of communications with the party rank and file, building the base of the NDP's actions against the resource sellout, and pushing forward the campaign of the leadership collective as it relates to the overall Waffle strategy and program.

A paper submitted by a Toronto Waffle supporter, Regula Modlich, while not discussed, highlighted some of the key political problems facing the Waffle group. Having defined its objective, socialism, and put forward many good demands on particular issues, she said, the Waffle group must now go forward to formulate a rounded program and strategy of anticapitalist demands which can mobilize working people to struggle for socialism. This means a "sensitive orientation" to the trade unions, encouraging both affiliations and rank and file initiatives.

With respect to extraparliamentary action, Modlich said the left should see the NDP as the "key political expression of all those forces struggling for social change" — because it translates their struggles into action at the decisive level of the state. In addition to building a mass extraparliamentary base for the party, she said, the left must also build socialist leadership for the party "to replace the present reformist leadership." And the Waffle "must declare itself unequivocally opposed" to red-baiting, expulsions or other attempts to proscribe the free expression of ideas within the party or its left wing.

The most disturbing aspect of the conference was in fact the unserious attitude of some youthful participants associated with the New Democratic Youth but more aptly calling themselves the "Yippie caucus." Particularly ominous was their tolerance toward repeatedly disruptive Trotsky-baiting, male chauvinism and anti-labor attitudes manifested by an astonishing number of leading Waffle spokesmen. Continued tolerance of this element within the Waffle group puts a question mark around the latter's ability to serve as a serious instrument for socialists within the NDP.

The conference showed that while the potential remains for a mass left wing within the NDP, the Waffle group still has a lot of serious internal problems to overcome before it can effectively accomplish that objective.

#14 Aug. 1970

labor Challenge

Quebec independentism

by André Doucet

The following article is a contribution to the debate on the demand for Quebec independence. For previous discussions, see Workers Rally to the Demand for Independence (June 1) and Independence: The Marxist View (June 15). André Doucet is a member of the Central Committee of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/ League for Socialist Action.

The desire for independence which is expressed in an important sector of the Quebec working class, expresses a profoundly progressive sentiment. It is the result of the last two years of mass struggles around nationalist issues which were by their nature anticapitalist and anti-imperialist. This is the logic of the development of consciousness of national oppression of the Québécois. The desire for independence of Quebec expresses a latent revolutionary sentiment among the masses because it expresses the desire for an independence vis-à-vis imperialism, the desire for control of our own national and economic life.

What is unfortunate in this desire is the fact that it is absorbed on the political plane by the Parti Québécois, which obviously creates a lot of confusion on this question. At the beginning, revolutionary sentiment is always expressed in a confused way by the masses, through forms which are not well adapted to their real aspirations. This we see even in nations where a national question is not posed, obviously around other questions, and it is only after several experiences that the masses acquire a clear and socialist consciousness of their aspirations.

I believe that this desire for independence, even if it does not yet express itself in a way that is consciously revolutionary socialist, has a dynamic which leads it in this direction. It expresses the still vague sentiment of the Québécois to break with the imperialism of Ottawa as well as of Washington, to break with the underdevelopment in which imperialism maintains Quebec.

The student movement and the nationalist movement, both of them independentist for the most part, have awakened the workers to their national oppression. They felt the correctness of the nationalist struggle when they saw Domtar, Marine Industries, and other foreign companies close their doors; when they see the record unemployment rates for Quebec; when they see the job discrimination they suffer, and the inferior role accorded to their language.

They no longer link this situation to bad luck, but more and more to their oppression as Québécois; this, then, is why they have taken the road of independence. This is the beneficial influence which the student and nationalist movements have had on the growth of consciousness of the workers, despite the fact that this growing consciousness has taken the form of support for the PQ.

I believe we can foresee that the bourgeois PQ will be fairly rapidly bypassed by the workers and students, because this support is due to the fact that they do not yet see exactly how to liberate themselves from this oppression which they have only just begun to combat. The last two years of mass struggle clearly justify this hope, I believe. Although illusions in the PQ are not yet very deeply rooted it will always be our primary duty to dissipate these illusions and put forward the alternative of a working class independence.

Our new objective in Quebec is no longer so much to develop the pan-Canadian struggle for a socialist Canada, with a Quebec free to decide the links it wishes to have with the rest of Canada. Rather, it is to develop the national struggle of the Québécois for an independent and socialist Quebec; that is, to be part of this nationalist-independentist movement and to advance it to its socialist conclusion.

It may be regretted that this struggle of the Quebecois is not linked directly through close unity to the NDP. But if the Québécois reject the NDP because it is too far behind their struggles, we cannot force them to wait until the NDP catches up to them in their struggles. Although the independentist road implies a rejection of the NDP, this does not prevent us from carrying a campaign for the NDP on the federal level, or in favor of collaboration with the NDP if an independentist labor party comes into being in Quebec, unity of the workers always being one of our basic principles.

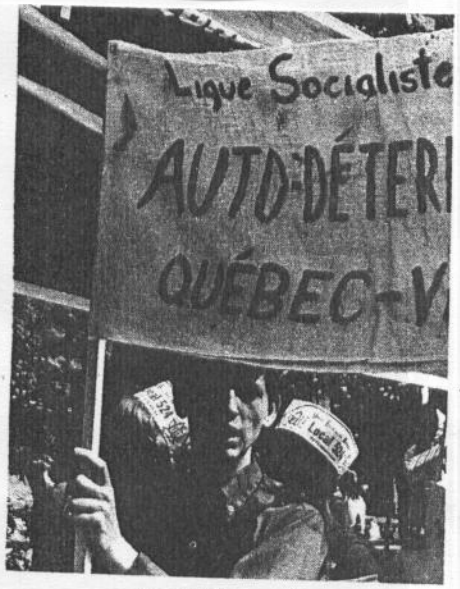
I believe that the independentist road, chosen by the key sector of the Québécois working class, is as valid, if not more valid, than the NDP road, because it poses the question of who controls Quebec, imperialism or the workers, and thus indirectly the issue of workers control of Quebec.

Moreover, on the key question of nationalism, it permits the working class to bypass the bureaucratic and reformist barrier of the NDP, thus opening many possibilities for the future, in accordance with the very dynamic of the national liberation struggle.

In the present period of imperialist domination, national liberation struggles sharpen the character of the anti-imperialist struggle all over the world, and we can look forward to the probability that the struggle for independence, far from slowing down this struggle in Quebec, will render it more acute.

If we are convinced that it is the most dynamic sector of the working class which has declared itself for independence through voting for the PQ, and that this vote was neither a mere protest vote, nor a purely conjunctural vote, then there is no longer any reason to hesitate: we must put forward the slogan for an independent and socialist Quebec.

We must participate in and advance this progessive movement which indicates a heightening of the masses', consciousness of their national and class oppression. And, finally, this gives us a better perspective for the construction of the LSO/ LJS (Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes). It permits us, without any trace of opportunism, to participate fully in this great progressive movement, intervening in it with our program, to win its leadership and build "l'Etat Ouvrier du Québec" (the Quebec Workers State).



André Doucet

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S'toon CSM splits leaders join YS

by Jacquie Henderson

On July 26 five leading members of the Saskatchewan-based Committee for a Socialist Movement announced to a provincial meeting of the CSM that they were leaving that organization and joining the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. The move came after months of debates within the CSM, an organization of radicals that attempted to contain the many points of view of its members by adopting no clear program or orientation.

Richard Thompson, one of the five, explained the development in this way: "The phenomenon of CSM, a broad, catchall organization of "revolutionaries" was only possible during a certain period of Saskatchewan politics. Without any doubt that period is over. The mixture of different political views: left social democrat, Stalinist, new left, and quasi-Trotskyist could not continue beyond a certain point. It was the attempt to continue such an alliance that led CSM into stagnation and inactivity."

Thompson is well known in Saskatchewan and on campuses across the country. He was once an Ontario organizer for the Canadian Union of Students and before that he was a director of the Company of Young Canadians. He first became involved in radical politics through the 1965 "Selma sit-in" in Toronto in solidarity with the Black struggle in the U.S. Later he went to Saskatchewan to work on the Student Union for Peace Action's Neestow Project which sent students onto the Indian reserves to do community organizing. Thompson was one of the founders of CSM and was a CSM candidate for alderman of Saskatoon last fall. He has been active in politics on the University of Saskatchewan campus in Saskatoon.

Thompson, for some years previous a known critic of the Young Socialists from a "new left" perspective, described his evolution in a public meeting of the Young Socialists held in Regina August 9.

"For a long time I've been a revolutionary who saw the need to bring about socialism and tried to work within organizations which I thought were promoting that end. But all of those organizations had the limitation of either just representing certain sectional interests of one group like, say, students, and couldn't really escape just working for the aims of that particular group — the Canadian Union of Students was such an organization — or they recognized the need for socialism but couldn't make all the bridges, all the links between the situation now and the socialist revolution. CSM was this type of organization."

Of the other four, Howard Brown, John Caswell, Karen Kopperud and Paul Kouri, two of them also ran in the Saskatoon municipal elections. Brown ran for alderman and Kopperud for school board trustee. Paul Kouri, a graduate student at University of Saskatchewan, has been active in student politics there and wrote for the Prairie Fire, a radical provincial newsweekly.

The CSM had been wracked with crises over direction from the day of its formation. Differences had centered over such questions as its orientation to the New Democratic Party and its left wing "Waffle" caucus, the relationship of revolutionaries to mass movements, and how a revolutionary organization is built.

Last winter several members of the Regina local of the CSM split from the CSM to work exclusively in the NDP and Waffle. They argued that (at least for the present period) nothing more than the Waffle group is needed. Other members of the Regina CSM leaned in the opposite direction of writing off the NDP and Waffle because of their reformist program.

The leaders of the Saskatoon CSM who later joined the Young Socialists argued against both positions. They said the NDP is a labor party independent of the capitalist parties and contains the most advanced and conscious sections of the Canadian working class. As such it reflects within its ranks the growing radicalization in Canada. They pointed to the emergence of the Waffle caucus as proof of the correctness of this view. Socialists they stated, must work in the NDP, and struggle to give the party a socialist program. But they also pointed out the necessity to go beyond the NDP and its left caucus, to build a revolutionary organization that can lead the Canadian revolution.

During the July 26 debate some CSMers, grouped around a document called the "Brown Document" (because it was printed in brown ink), projected that the CSM could evolve into a revolutionary leadership organization if all the forces in it could stick together around a "minimum basis of unity." The five disagreed, explaining that such a vanguard organization as is needed to lead the Canadian workers to a successful revolution couldn't spontaneously develop out of a regional amorphous group with no program. They argued that a transitional program that relates to the level of consciousness of Canadian workers, students, etc. now and involves them in struggle for socialism must be the basis for such an organization.

Secondly, they argued that such an organization must be democratic centralist, not an amorphous organization based on "consensus" agreements. Lastly, they argued that such an organization and program exists in the Trotskyist movement.

On August 9 the CSM split again with 13 people left in the organization grouped around the "minimum basis of unity" of the Brown Document. This is what remains of what was once an organization of some 200 supporters.

The CSM was one attempt by the "new left" to find a new road to the socialist revolution, a short cut. In spite of a long history of consensus politics in Saskatchewan where various tendencies submerged their differences, the CSM could not survive. The new left, with its scepticism about the revolutionary potential of the working class, has had the props knocked out from under it. The general strike in France in May 1968 showed most graphically the willingness of the working class to overthrow capitalism. It also showed to thousands of youth on this continent as elsewhere the need to build a leadership that can lead that struggle of the workers to a successful socialist revolution.

The five CSMers who joined the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes last month are just a sign of things to come. More and more youth are coming to see the necessity of joining in the building of the future leadership of the Canadian revolution. The YS/ LJS along with the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere represents this leadership inasmuch as it already exists in Canada. The task is to build it into the leadership capable of creating a socialist Canada in a socialist world.

The move of five leading Saskatchewan socialists who have had a long experience in the new left to join the YS/ LJS is a sign of things to come.

The program of activities the Saskatoon Young Socialists have begun promises to attract far more youth in Saskatchewan to the revolutionary movement. They are actively building the antiwar and women's liberation movements there and participating in the New Democratic Party. They have carried a YS forum in Regina and have planned one for Saskatoon on why they joined. Tours of the province, the prairies, and across Canada are also planned.

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NDP council cripples Vancouver civic slate

by N. Williams

VANCOUVER — The certainty of an NDP municipal slate in this year's Vancouver civic election has been thwarted by the provincial council of the party. The NDP Vancouver Area Council had been moving ahead full steam to run condidates for the mayoralty and for five of the ten aldermanic positions. A joint slate had been arranged with the Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE), an unprincipled grab-bag civic electoral machine backed by the Communist party, and with the Vancouver and District Labor Council who between them would fill out the other five positions.

The NDP slate was headed up by Paddy Neale as candidate for mayor. Neale is secretary of the labor council. Other well known candidates included Hilda Thomas, chairman of the Vietnam Action Committee and Angus Macdonald, a leader in the Steelworkers union. Financial support had been coming in from trade unions and committees and leaflets were under way, except for one thing — the provincial council had to accept the slate.

The council met on August 2-3. It is widely known that Dave Barrett, newly provincial leader, opposes civic entry on any basis because it might defer funds and efforts off the provincial level where he gets elected.

It is also known that many provincial party brass oppose any working arrangements with any group that might be suspected of being associated in any way with the Communist party, such as COPE, for simple anti-communist, redbaiting reasons.

As against an alliance with COPE, a mildly reformist body which is in no way controlled by or responsible to the labor movement, left wingers have fought for a full NDP slate. But it was felt that the best chance to get the party into municipal politics, and thus in life settle the debate around the primacy of the labor-based NDP over COPE, was to support the agreed upon joint slate on the provincial council.

But the council voted that the city NDP could enter the election with a partial slate but only on condition that it not ally with COPE. The vote was accompanied by vicious redbaiting and statements by some to the effect that they hoped the Vancouver NDP would stay out of the civic elections altogether.

At a full meeting of the area council following this decision, Paddy Neale refused to stand as a mayoralty candidate.

COPE observers at the meeting said that COPE would probably run a full slate and urged NDP candidates to join them. Thus the Stalinists complemented the redbaiting social democrats on the NDP provincial council in an all out effort to undermine NDP entry into the city election. Even Wally Ross, provincial secretary of the NDP until his recent resignation and a hard worker for NDP municipal entry, was sceptical about the possibilities for going ahead.

The left forces on the council urged that the party proceed on the basis of the provincial council's decision because any change would require re-submission to that body and thereby lessen chances of entry at all.

The meeting decided to call a municipal convention on August 23 and to recommend that the city NDP go ahead with its present slate and find a new candidate for mayor.

An important factor in the actions of the convention will no doubt be the knowledge that if it does not present a candidate for mayor and fill out the aldermanic slate, the LSA/ YS will probably do so.

Alain Krivine

Krivine to speak at Prairie meet

SASKATOON — Alain Krivine, presidential candidate in the 1969 French elections and a leader of the Trotskyist Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire in the May 1968 student-worker upsurge, will be a featured speaker at the Socialist Students Conference, to be held here September 18-20.

The conference, organized by the Saskatoon Young Socialists and other YS locals on the prairies, is the first such gathering of socialist students to be held in this part of Canada. Open to all radical youth, the conference promises to be the scene of wide-ranging debates.

Other featured speakers include Richard Thompson and Karen Kopperud of the Saskatoon Young Socialists, both of them former leaders of the Saskatchewan Committee for a Socialist Movement; Jacquie Henderson, YS executive secretary, and Manon Léger, Montreal organizer of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and a candidate in the recent Quebec elections.

Topics of the debates and discussions will include the red university, the vanguard party, the transitional program, dynamics of women's liberation, and the struggle for an independent socialist Quebec.

In addition to his participation in the Saskatoon conference, Krivine will be speaking at a number of other campuses and cities across Canada during September. He is now a leader of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International.

The Socialist Students Conference will be held at St. Thomas More Auditorium, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. For further information, contact the Saskatoon YS, Box 704, 242-5885.

labor Challenge #14 Aug 1970

Schreyer submits to business blackmail

By Dennis Lomas

WINNIPEG — "While an election is not to be classed as a disaster — which some seem to be doing — no one really wants an election at this time, particularly one that could have unpleasant surprises.

"Now is the time for reason and compromise."

The "unpleasant surprises" this Winnipeg Free Press editorial (August 4) is talking about are the possibilities the NDP had for gaining more seats than it already had in the Manitoba legislature if an election were conducted over its public auto insurance bill. Yet, instead of taking advantage of this opportunity to go to the electorate with a popular issue, the NDP government compromised its position and gave the opposition, Conservative and Liberal, yet another opportunity to scuttle the bill before it is put into practice.

Premier Ed Schreyer postponed implementation of the main sections of the bill, its compulsory and government-controlled aspects, to June 30, 1971. Not only does this delay it by eleven months (two years after the government would have been in office), but it also gives the opposition a chance to win a byelection in the meantime, and thereby be in a position to bring down the government, which at present has an equal number of seats, whenever it wants.

The byelection is for the seat presently held by Larry Desjardins, a "Liberal-Democrat" who was originally elected on a Liberal ticket but has supported the NDP on the auto insurance measure and other bills since he took his seat. His vote cast in favor of NDP proposals allowed the minority government to continue to operate.

Shortly before the third reading of Bill 56, he announced he could no longer support the bill "in its present form." This immediately raised the specter of a general election which prompted the editorial comment in the Winnipeg Free Press quoted above. It also prompted Schreyer to postpone the implementation date of the bill. This was enough to bring Desjardins back into the "fold" and vote for the bill at third reading. After this he announced his intention to resign from the house.

Whatever Desjardins' motives, his actions have helped big business, which campaigned furiously to prevent passage of the bill. This was noted in the house by NDP backbencher Cy Gonick, who attacked Schreyer for capitulating to this "new savior for big business."

An election fought even on the issue of the auto insurance bill, which in its original version would have eliminated private enterprise and profits from auto insurance through a plan similar to that instituted by the Saskatchewan CCF government, would have assured a decisive NDP victory over the capitalist parties. It was a simple reformist issue on which the NDP had a correct principled program of public ownership and service at cost. With a clear majority in the house, the NDP would have the road clear to proceed with a program of far-reaching social measures.

Instead, Schreyer, more concerned with the mechanics of parliamentary majorities than the dynamics of social conflict inherent in this confrontation with big business, bent over backwards for Desjardins and played right into the hands of the Conservatives and Liberals. For them it was, indeed, a time for "compromise."

photo by White

Members of Toronto Women's Caucus picketed Miss Toronto beauty contest July 25, to protest exploitation of women symbolized by these degrading ceremonies.

A growing influence in the left

Uproar on Trotskyism

By Dick Fidler

labor Challenge #14 Aug. 1970

A specter is haunting some Canadians on the left — the specter of Trotskyism. A

Insofar as Weir and his co-thinkers mention the ideas of Trotskyism, their

Lenin with Trotsky in Red Square on second anniversary of the Revolution, November 1919.

not the futile search for rapprochement with imperialism represented by the discredited Stalinist theory of "peaceful coexistence," that constitutes the only enduring defense of the workers states.

What is permanent revolution in Canada? Among other things, it means all-out support of the Québécois struggle against their national oppression, a struggle which has taken shape around the movement for a French- only Quebec. In an article on "Quebec Political Alignments" in Communist Viewpoint (Nov.-Dec. '69), Quebec CP leader Sam Walsh attacks "Maoist and Trotskyist groups" who "pay court to the ultranationalists, unilingualists, etc." and blames them for the government's repression against the labor movement. "There are unquestionably agents of the imperialist enemy influencing some of these groups, and in any case their policies and actions have been serving as useful excuses for the government to introduce dangerous police-state and anti-labor measures."

Peter Weiss

labor Challenge #14

Here the whole dilemma emerges of a historiography that dares not confront a decisive pattern of development, but, out of fear of the forces that might be released, prefers to offer the ignorant a vague irrational system — Trotskyism. . .

Thus, in the hands of the Soviet historians the history of the revolution, this vital, richly colorful process, becomes an impoverished, monotonous account in which Lenin stands heroicly isolated in a vacuum.

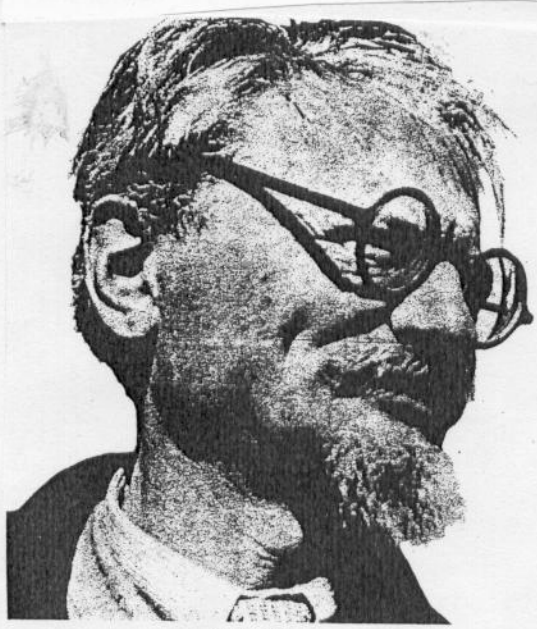
when the most diverse views contended and had to prove their validity, when there was no predetermined path that led to the fall of the old social order?

What was the range of the revolutionists' activity, their actions, what did they achieve by their verbal duels, by their indispensable conflicts in which they sharpened their arguments and strengthened themselves?

How, over a decade of sharp differences of opinion, could Lenin have had the ob-

Author of Marat/Sade replies to Soviet writer

Weiss defends Trotsky



Leon Trotsky

labor Challenge #45 - Dec. 6, 1971

Trotskyism and world revolution

by Ernest Mandel

Uproar on Trotskyism

– a growing influence in the left

By Dick Fidler

(from Labor Challenge, August 1970)

A specter is haunting some Canadians on the left — the specter of Trotskyism. A roundup of recent literature from the radical press indicates that today, thirty years after Trotsky's murder, his ideas and the movement he founded have become a major issue for all those in this country who profess to be socialists in any way.

The Communist party, of course, are old hands at anti-Trotskyism. The CP *(the CPC, Communist Party of Canada)* that we know today, which has nothing at all in common with the promising revolutionary party of the 1920s, was forged in the struggle led by Tim Buck against those elements in the CP — and they included a majority of the party leadership — who defended the revolutionary socialist program upheld by Leon Trotsky in his epochal struggle against Stalin and the bureaucratic degeneration of the Communist International. This year, the Lenin centenary, the Stalinist press in Canada as elsewhere has been full of labored articles attempting to prove that the CP, and not the Trotskyists assembled in the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, are the legitimate heirs of Lenin and the traditions of the Bolshevik party.

In the July 29 issue of *Canadian Tribune,* John Weir characterizes "Trotskyism" as the struggle against Leninism, both before and after the Russian revolution, becoming (he does not explain how) "an anti-Soviet, and anti-Communist agency, specializing in slander, provocation and intrigue," "an agency of the class enemies." Fourteen years after Khrushchev's revelations about the Moscow Trials and Stalin's role, this crap from the pen of a Stalinist hack is simply ludicrous.

Insofar as Weir and his co-thinkers mention the ideas of Trotskyism, their attempts are scarcely more edifying. Trotsky's "theoretical and political legacy," says Weir, is "his notorious 'permanent revolution' theory" — "that the workers on gaining power in one country must wage revolutionary war against the capitalist countries until the world revolution."

The theory of permanent revolution — indeed one of Trotsky's key contributions to Marxist theory — actually expresses two basic concepts. First, that the weakness of the bourgeoisie in colonial and semi-colonial countries, and the strategic weight of the proletariat, enables the working class to come to power in these relatively backward countries before the socialist revolution triumphs in the more advanced nations. This theory, first confirmed in Russia, has been reaffirmed in China and Cuba — and the Cubans have endorsed it in their historic *Second Declaration of Havana* which says that socialist revolution, workers power, is on the agenda throughout Latin America.

Secondly, the theory of permanent revolution notes that the socialist revolution is essentially international I character, that until capitalism and imperialism have been eradicated from the face of the earth, no workers state and no movement for national liberation or socialism will be secure from the threat of imperialist aggression. Today, in the epoch of the nuclear bomb and the brutal U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese revolution, can anyone doubt the necessity for the overthrow of imperialism in its very heartland, the United States, if we are to build and enjoy a society of peace and plenty? It is the struggle for socialism, not the futile search for rapprochement with imperialism represented by the discredited Stalinist theory of "peaceful coexistence," that constitutes the only enduring defense of the workers states.

What is permanent revolution in Canada? Among other things, it means all-out support of the Québécois' struggle against their national oppression, a struggle which has taken shape around the movement for a French-only Quebec. In an article on "Quebec Political Alignments" in *Communist Viewpoint* (Nov.-Dec. '69), Quebec CP leader Sam Walsh attacks "Maoist and Trotskyist groups" who "pay court to the ultranationalists, unilingualists, etc." and blames them for the government's repression against the labor movement. "There are unquestionably agents of the imperialist enemy influencing some of these groups, and in any case their policies and actions have been serving as useful excuses for the government to introduce dangerous police-state and anti-labor measures."

As for Walsh and the CP, they are far in the rearguard as usual; the same article claims that in 1960 "the workers and other sections of the population (!) had no other choice but to group around the Liberal party in order to rid Quebec of the nightmare of Union Nationale rule."

These Stalinist attacks on Trotskyism reverberate through the Maoist press. *Mass Line,* organ of the Canadian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), which waxes as frenetic about Trotskyism as it does about nearly everything else, appears to have adopted the word as a synonym for others of their opponents on the left. Thus they now identify another Maoist group; the Canadian Party of Labor, as not just "social fascist" but "neo-Trotskyite," but don't explain why except to say that CPLers are if anything "more degenerate than the Trotskyites" (*Mass Line*, July 17).

Despite all the venom they reserve for "Khrushchevite revisionists," the *Mass Line* Maoists share the CP's assessment of Trotskyism — only perhaps more shamelessly. Lately, under the heading ' Down with Trotskyism,' they have been serializing in their press whole chapters from The Great Conspiracy, a notorious Stalinist hack job from the 1930s designed to underwrite the charges of the Moscow Trials that Trotsky and the old Bolsheviks murdered by Stalin were "fascists" and "agents of the imperialists," etc.

As for the Canadian Party of Labor, they appear to be worried most about Trotskyist influence around the New Democratic Party, which they say is "bourgeois," and the NDP

left wing, the Waffle group, who, they claim, are “representatives of the capitalists." The anti-imperialist Waffle group, you see, is "nationalist," and for CPL any sort of nationalism, including Québécois and Black nationalism, is completely reactionary.

Because the LSA is known to support and encourage all these developments, and because anti-imperialist sentiment is catching on fast, CPL is starting to see Trotskyists and the LSA everywhere. The August issue of their paper *Canadian Worker* even attributes the appearance of the "Reform Caucus" at the recent convention of the Canadian Labor Congress to "the League for Socialist Action Trotskyites."

But if CPL thinks the LSA is too "nationalist," yet another Maoist tendency thinks the Trotskyists don't even understand that Canada is controlled by imperialism. A recent issue of the Progressive Workers Movement quarterly magazine, *Progressive Worker,* which purports to present "a Marxist-Leninist View" of "Independence and Socialism in Canada," attacks the LSA position that the Canadian capitalist class is imperialist in its own right, a junior partner with U.S. imperialism in the exploitation of Third World countries.

By suggesting that Canada has imperialist interests of its own, PW argues, "the LSA would have us believe.... that Canada is not a controlled neo-colony of the United States, but an independent country" with an independent capitalist class. Canada, PW argues, is on the contrary just a "staging ground" for U.S. capital, it is a "colony" of the U.S., and therefore the main struggle today is for "national independence." Does this mean that PW could agree nevertheless with the LSA that the struggle must be directed against the capitalist government in Canada which protects and defends U.S. imperialist interests, and toward the nationalization of U.S.-owned corporations? No way. "We feel," says PW, "that an independent Canadian trade union movement is of first importance in the Canadian struggle" (page 4) and tor that reason unity with the LSA is "impossible."

As for the NDP, it is "bourgeois,” mainly because it is controlled by "international" trade unions.

These views are shared by the newest Maoist group, the Canadian Liberation Movement associated with Danny Drache which continues to linger around the Waffle group looking for crumbs from it's more nationalist element. A recent issue of the CLM monthly, *New Canada,* attacks the Vietnam Mobilization Committee as the "front organization for the Trotskyite Young Socialists," claims the slogan "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam" is "old hat," and concludes that "it is time we realized that our fight is not just at the U.S. Consulate but at the offices of U.S. controlled firms ….and "the leadership of sellout pro-imperialist 'international' unions!"

The main article in that issue of *New Canada* is entitled 'Trinidad: The Fight Is Against American Imperialism.' It conveniently ignores the salient fact noted by all other observers of the revolutionary upheaval in Trinidad: that some of the

major mass demonstrations were directed against Canadian banks— which by law are 100 percent Canadian-owned! How serious is any political tendency which ignores the struggle against its "own" ruling bourgeoisie?

Attacks on the LSA from a somewhat different direction come from two tendencies themselves claiming to be Trotskyist — the Workers League and the Labor Action group. Both of these tiny groups originate from the Healyites, a sectarian group in England which refused to join the reunification of the Trotskyist Fourth International in 1963. Their politics are quite similar — in fact, Labor Action broke from the Workers League last year primarily because it feared the latter was seeking rapproachement with the LSA.

Since then, Labor Action has managed to develop a principled difference with the Workers League: it holds the NDP is not a *real* **l**abor party because the trade union rank and file do not control the party.

Both groups may be found around the Toronto Waffle group, however, where they attack the LSA for its "capitulation" to "nationalism." A recent Workers League leaflet, for example, claims that the Waffle group and their supporters, the League for Socialist Action, the Communist party, etc., attempt to divert the working class away from their task of creating socialism, with the red herring of Canadian Nationalism and Quebec Nationalism." The magazine *Labor Action*, for its part, has attacked the LSA for its support of unilingualism and for working with Raymond Lemieux, the leader of the struggle for French schools in St-Leonard, whom it describes as a “worm." The task, says *Labor Action*, is “to fight in the ranks of the NDP against the Canada-first nationalists of the “Waffle” tendency (as supported by the League for Socialist Action and the Communist party)...."

What about the Waffle group, in and around which many of these polemics we described are being conducted? Unfortunately, the level of discussion on Trotskyism is not any higher there. A prominent grouping in the Ontario Waffle group, the New Democratic Youth leadership, recently published an article by an NDY leader in their newsletter, boasting of the organization of the Frank Jacson committee honoring the Stalinist agent who brutally murdered Trotsky. The aim of this group, it was said, was to get rid of Trotskyists. They were not called to order by either the NDP brass or the Waffle leadership.

But the more or less hardened centrist elements who control the Waffle leadership, in Ontario at least, have taken the logical step, in view of the growing obsession with Trotskyism among all other contending currents. They've taken to calling anyone who puts forward any political position resembling revolutionary socialism, "Trotskyist" and a supporter of the LSA. Serious socialists will take their cue, and give serious consideration to the ideas and movement associated with Trotskyism.

Weiss defends Trotsky

Author of Marat/Sade replies to Soviet writer

Thirty years ago, in Mexico, an agent of Stalin smashed a pickax into the brain of Leon Trotsky. Today, the Stalinist bureaucracy and its agents in the Communist parties around the world are still trying, without success, to silence Trotsky under a mountain of lies, distortions and misrepresentations.

Peter Weiss, the internationally renowned playwright, author of Marat/ Sade, was until recently as welcome in the East as in the West: his plays were performed with great acclaim in the Soviet Union and throughout Western Europe.

In January of this year his new play 'Trotsky in Exile' opened in Dusseldorf. In the March 31 issue of Literaturnaya Gaseta, *Lev Ginzburg — who, ironically. is attacked in the USSR as a "liberal" — attacked Weiss and his play and vilified Trotsky in the worst Stalinist tradition.*

Weiss' reply, excerpts of which are published below, has not been published in Moscow. It was translated from a daily newspaper in Sweden, where Weiss lives.

The furious condemnations of Weiss in the Soviet press have had repercussions in the Swedish Communist party, of which Weiss is a member. When Neanderthal Stalinist elements viciously attacked Weiss' open letter, the party leadership which is trying desperately to show a certain independence of the Kremlin, felt obliged to venture a defense of the revolutionary playwright, while at the same time chiding him for his "mistake" in believing "that the time is ripe for an international debate on a question as sensitive in many respects as Trotsky's positive traits."

Dear Lev Ginzburg:

In the March 31 issue of the Soviet writers' union paper you attacked my play. *Trotzki im Exil* (Trotsky in Exile). You accused me of falsifying history, using fake documents, and distorting the Great Socialist October Revolution.

It is true that my portrayal of the revolution and of Lenin's comrades-in-arms did not correspond to the picture that has been painted in the Soviet Union for more than four decades. In fact, the play is an assault on that picture. For I started out from a different reality than the one that determined the picture which is considered correct in the socialist countries...

When Trotsky attacked the Communist parties it was to criticize them for not fighting hard enough and effectively enough against capitalism and fascism. His criticism of the socialist states was directed against their bureaucratic

deformation; he demanded a return to the traditions of the revolution. And right up to his death, often in opposition to his followers, he linked his polemics and his proposals with an insistent appeal for solidarity with the first workers state. . .

What does Trotsky represent today, thirty years after his death? What threat is associated with him that can explain his still being marked with that unique historical taboo? What can account for the fact that his work is subjected to a blackout process incompatible with dialectical materialism?

It is apparent that the primary reason for the slander and stigmatization of Trotsky is his prophetic idea of permanent revolution, his advocacy of an uninterrupted liberation struggle on all continents. This was also the reason for his break with Stalin, the relevance of which is continually verified. This rupture occurred when Trotsky hurled his internationalist anathema at Stalin's principle of building socialism in *one* country. . .

The year 1970, the year in which the socialist countries are celebrating the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth, also marks a new high point in the struggle against Trotsky. By dint of great exertions the caricature of Trotsky has been refurbished and modernized. . .

For example, in the work *The Struggle of the Bolshevik Party Against Trotskyism in the Post-October Period*, put out by the Soviet Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences, the similarity is stressed between Trotsky's views and the "Mao Tsetung group." The militarization of the Chinese party and state, the preparation for war as the best means to bring about world revolution are traced back to Trotsky's methods. Here also we see the influence of the still unexplained events that helped to bring about Trotsky's banishment and expulsion from the Soviet Union when he advocated help for the Chinese revolutionists in opposition to Stalin and the Comintern *(the Moscow-based council of international communist parties, which in the period 1917-1924 under Lenin and before the rise of Stalin, actively debated world-wide revolutionary strategy –ed.)* who made a pact with Chiang Kai-shek *(1927)* and permitted the massacre of the workers in the cities. . .

In the Soviet Academy's book *The May rebellion of the workers and students in Paris (the rebellion)* is called a revolt of "an anarchist adventurist type" provoked by "Trotskyist-Maoist inflammatory slogans." This is a crude distortion of the greatest event in recent years — the demonstration that a revolutionary situation can arise in a highly industrialized country. In this context, Trotsky cannot be blamed for the anarchistic tendencies. He was an opponent of anarchy and individual terror. It would have been far more profitable to give an account of the relationship of forces in the uprising and why it was suppressed and defeated.

As for seeing Trotskyist groups in the Czechoslovakian reform movement, that fits in with the attempt to achieve workers democracy and an open cultural policy...

In the portrayal of the 1905 revolution (in the biography of Lenin published in 1970 by the Marxism-Leninism Institute) not a word is said about Trotsky, who was the head of the Petrograd Soviet. In the section dealing with the Great Socialist October Revolution, Trotsky is mentioned only at the end, where a distorted quotation makes it look as if he were an opponent of the armed uprising, whereas in reality it was he who planned and organized the revolution. It is not even **hinted** *t*hat it was Trotsky who founded the Red Army and after three years of combat led it to victory over the allied interventionist forces and the White Russian counter-revolutionists. Nor is there any intimation that he played a decisive role with regard to the New Economic Policy or that he helped to lay the foundations of the Communist International, as well as of the foreign relations and cultural life of the young Soviet state.

First the Soviet historians with dogged persistence paint Trotsky as the "worst enemy of Leninism" for 787 pages. Then the absurdity of this procedure catches up with them when the astonished socialist reader comes across the fact in Lenin's testament, the so-called "Letter to the Party Congress" —which can no longer be kept secret — that Lenin described Trotsky as the most capable of the party leaders.

Here the whole dilemma emerges of a historiography that dares not confront a decisive pattern of development, but, out of fear of the forces that might be released, prefers to offer the ignorant a vague irrational system — Trotskyism. . .

Thus, in the hands of the Soviet historians the history of the revolution, this vital, richly colorful process, becomes an impoverished, monotonous account in which Lenin stands heroically isolated in a vacuum.

Plays like *Trotzki im Exil* — similar ones can certainly be found in the desk drawers of socialist writers — should be staged in Moscow, Prague, Budapest, Rostok, or East Berlin so as at last to bare publicly the roots, the causes of the conflicts that are subjecting the world Communist movement to a decisive test of strength today.

In order to get a picture of revolutionary models, a picture that accords with the Marxist concept of history, we must study Lenin's closest comrades-in-arms. Moreover, in our discussion we must include the controversial questions, contradictions, difficulties, and even mistakes in the period prior to the October revolution and the beginning of socialist construction.

The Lenin year is the appropriate time to start this openness.

In studying the history of the revolution we find that it was precisely under the pressure of opposing opinions, of sharp disputes over tactics and strategy, that the general lines developed that moulded the Soviet state. . .

All those who in order to support their distorted picture of Trotsky search out Lenin's negative remarks about him in the years when they were at loggerheads and during the debates immediately following the October revolution must answer the

following question. How could sharp struggles have been avoided at a time when every proposal, every association, every form of struggle had to be tested, when the most diverse views contended and had to prove their validity, when there was no predetermined path that led to the fall of the old social order?

What was the range of the revolutionists' activity, their actions, what did they achieve by their verbal duels, by their indispensable conflicts in which they sharpened their arguments and strengthened themselves?

How, over a decade of sharp differences of opinion, could Lenin have had the objectivity not to lose sight of the good qualities of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Bukharin, or Piatakov, despite the fact that he was embroiled in the most embittered controversies with just these men?

Would he have allowed these men — whom in the heat of battle he could criticize, ridicule, and rake over the coals — to remain members of the Politburo if he had not been convinced of their incorruptibility and their basic revolutionary firmness?. . .

My play starts off from Stalin's failure to correct this fault (in his character, that Lenin warned against in his Testament) and Trotsky's exclusion from further collaboration in building the Soviet state. It is called *Trotzki im Exil* because the exile which was forced on him is still dogmatically considered justified in the country where his contribution was most crucial and where his lessons could still be of use.

. . .This play is my contribution to the Lenin year 1970. It honors Lenin by following his fundamental rule of the necessity of open debate by presenting the men who were close to him, whom he argued with, who contributed to his development, and together with whom he began the greatest social upheaval of our century.

Yours truly, Peter Weiss
April 1970.

Toronto STAR 1970-Sept

Capitalism is blamed for woes of women

The liberation of women from domination by men, from the double standard, from confinement to the home and family and from mental stagnation resulting from her role as homemaker, will be achieved only when society is reconstructed along socialistic lines.

This was the message of a talk given last night by Evelyn Reed, a U.S. spokesman for women's liberation. She spoke to an audience of about 200 women and men in Convocation Hall, University of Toronto. The meeting was sponsored by U of T Women's Caucus, Young Socialists, Students Administrative Council and the League for Socialist Action.

Miss Reed blamed almost every ill known to woman on the capitalistic structure. "The inventor of marriage, the home and the family which has produced the most immoral and depraved society in history."

In tracing the history of mankind she said that "marriage was first the prerogative of the ruling classes. It was imposed much later on the working classes and was instituted by man to take care of property and possessions which included the wife and children."

Miss Reed attributed the breakup of the marriage contract—one out of every three in the United States—to the fact that "Love relations are mutilated by an economic structure controlled by industry which imposes its will on every aspect of our life."

"The family," she said "is not a natural unit. It is fixed in our minds that women must stay home and man go out; that sexual intercourse, for women, is governed by marriage. But this arrangement has not produced the best results. It was not ordained by nature or by God, but by man and has outlived its usefulness.

—Globe and Mail

Evelyn Reed

"The human needs of women have been stunted by the narrow lives imposed on them by marriage, but the growing number of women as wage earners is the starting point in their release from social and intellectual stagnation."

Miss Reed prophesied a "new family morality. Love is screaming for redefinition. We must take a new hard look at the institution of marriage and the family. We must look beyond them to the question of woman's right to exist; to have control of her own body."

DIANA'S

Aug. 26 opens
new stage in struggle

labor Challenge
#15 Sept. 1970

Mass march for women's rights

by Joan Newbigging

The North American women's liberation movement took an enormous step forward on August 26 when it took to the streets and through a series of dramatic mass actions demonstrated its dynamism, determination and growing strength.

Over 25,000 women marched down Fifth Avenue in New York; 5,000 demonstrated in Philadelphia; 1,000 women deposited their babies in the grounds of City Hall in New York demanding 24-hour child care centers. Altogether, actions were held in over 50 American cities. Solidarity actions took place in Toronto, Hamilton, and Edmonton.

August 26 marked the 50th anniversary of the date when American women won the vote. The protests, billed as a nationwide strike for equality, pointed to the fact that 50 years after this victory American women are still very far from achieving equal rights.

These were by far the biggest demonstrations ever carried by the women's liberation movement — conclusive evidence of its growing strength and power. In many ways, they signified a turning point in the development of the movement. Their powerful impact showed the key role such mass actions can and will pay in building this movement — that they are a necessary complement to the discussions, educational meetings and consciousness-raising sessions which until now have constituted the basis of the movement.

Throughout the U.S. women demanded an end to sex discrimination, equal pay for equal work, free abortions on demand, and an end to the degradation of women through advertising. In New York they carried banners declaring "Sisters, we are all beautiful."

In a solidarity action the Toronto Women's Caucus took its case to busy lunch time crowds in the City Hall Square. Braving hecklers and jeerers, as well as Angus MacKinnon's Scotch-Canadian Band, which happened to be giving a free concert in the square at that time, Caucus speakers and their supporters initiated a lively exchange of views on women's liberation.

Ellie Kirzner, spokeswoman for the Caucus, led off the discussion by outlining the goals of the Caucus and the demands they were advancing, for 24 hour child care centers, equal job opportunities and free abortions on demand, which paralleled those put forward by the U.S. movement. She was joined by Kay MacPherson of the Voice of Women, Diane Mossman of the NDP Women's Liberation Group, high school and campus women's liberationists, other caucus members, as well as spokeswomen from the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists.

A lively dialogue developed as other speakers took the megaphone and put forward their views, many in opposition to those of the women's liberationists.

On August 25 about 20 women from the Edmonton Women's Liberation Movement picketted the Edmonton Journal in protest against its discriminatory male/female want ads section. Carrying such slogans as "Never has so little been paid by so few to so many," they presented a brief to the editor demanding an end to such practises which exclude women from obtaining equality at work.

In Hamilton the Hamilton and District Women's Liberation Movement directed its fire against the city administration and its failure to provide basic services for women, such as child care centers and birth control clinics.

The widespread publicity that these actions received in the mass media in Canada was itself testimony to the growing power of the women's liberation movement in this country. For too long women's liberationists have been slandered and joked at in the press; now the time is coming when, like Quebec revolutionaries and black nationalists in the U.S., they must be taken seriously.

Women's liberationists across the country are already discussing calling a Canadian day of protest. It is clear that such an action could become a powerful focus for the growing ferment that is sweeping across Canada on this issue.

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TORONTO WOMEN'S PROTEST. The Toronto Women's Caucus speak-out August 26 demanded 24-hour child care centers, free abortions on demand, equality for women in education and employment.

Sectarians split Vancouver women's group

By Kate Porter

Vancouver — On August 27 a membership meeting of the Vancouver Women's Caucus voted by 52-43 to expel from the Caucus members of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action, women who have been very actively involved in the work of the Caucus for many months. The vote culminated a campaign of red-baiting conducted by the leadership of the Caucus.

What is the significance of this vote? In the history of their work in the Caucus, YS and LSA women consistently put forward proposals for the building of an open, mass movement for women's liberation organized around those issues which most directly and harshly bear down on women in Canadian society.

It was, for instance, YS-LSA women who pushed for the continuation of the campaign for free abortion on demand, following the very successful cross-country Abortion Caraven organized by the Caucus last spring. The YS and LSA have continually emphasized the need for an outgoing movement with the perspective of organizing thousands upon thousands of women.

As well, the YS and LSA women defended and worked for a democratically organized Caucus, with a recognized means of decision-making, and an elected leadership responsible to the membership of the Caucus. Like many other women within the Caucus who were working for the same objectives, they were confronted with the solid opposition of a self-contained clique leadership, unelected by the Caucus.

In the past many women have come to women's liberation through the Caucus but have found no way either to become organizationally involved or to register their feelings, if they happened to disagree with the entrenched leadership. Too many of them left and have never returned.

Within the last few months, the ideas of the YS and LSA women began to find a considerable response among these women. For instance, a motion originating with the YS and LSA women, which called for an elected responsible editorial board for the Caucus newspaper, The Pedestal, passed by a large majority, in spite of the solid opposition of the Caucus leadership.

In fact the leadership of the Caucus felt threatened by the democratic initiatives of the YS and LSA, and it was this that triggered the expulsion motion.

What were the charges against the women concerned? A whole number of charges were put forward, including allegations that YS-LSA women refused to accept the democratically determined priorities of the Caucus in its work; and that they disrupted the work of the Caucus and turned it into a debating society. But primarily the leadership centred their attack on a campaign designed to present the YS and LSA as subversive and clandestine organizations and even accused them of being exclusionary, since they hold discussions and arrive at decisions at their own meetings outside of the Women's Caucus!

In fact every one of the charges was false. Since the spring conference of Women's Caucus, which dropped the abortion campaign as a priority, and adopted a strategy of organizing working women, and working within the educational system, YS and LSA women have led in the implementation of these decisions. As for the charge that the Caucus had become a debating club, nothing could illustrate better the fear the leadership has of engaging the YS and LSA women in an open, political discussion of a strategy for women's liberation!

But the main issue at stake here is the attempt of the Caucus leadership to create an atmosphere of fear, to isolate the YS and LSA women within the Caucus. This is exactly the kind of baiting that socialists have been subjected to in the past by the leaderships of the NDP and the trade union movement. YS and LSA women defend the right of all groups and individuals to organize independently of the Caucus in order to put forward a strategy for women's liberation. In fact of course this process goes on all the time. The leadership of the Women's Caucus does this consistently. As for the charge that the YS and LSA are exclusionary, any woman who agrees with the program and organization of the YS and LSA can join and participate in decision-making. As a matter of fact, some women in the Caucus have done just that.

The discussion of the expulsion motion was marked by a not-so-gradual retreat by the Caucus leadership from a concrete discussion of the political questions involved into unadorned redbaiting. However, the closeness of the vote (52-43) reveals that many women in the Caucus were very much interested, along with the YS and LSA, in preserving a united women's liberation organization in this city, and, in fact, shared the perspective for an open, mass-oriented, democratic organization. The leadership of Vancouver Women's Caucus has shown that they are in fact willing to sink the Caucus in order to pursue their factional aims. For now that one group has been expelled, any possibility of democratically reconciling differences within the Caucus has disappeared.

The YS and LSA women who were expelled and those who supported them will be having a meeting shortly to discuss methods of carrying forward a democratic women's liberation movement in the city of Vancouver.

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Hamilton WLM confronts Council

By Colleen Levis

HAMILTON — Women's liberation activists marked the August 26 day of action by confronting the city government with wide-ranging demands for women's rights.

A group of 20 women presented a brief of the Hamilton District Women's Liberation Movement (HDWLM) to City Council August 27 calling for city hall to provide school lunch facilities staffed by paid mothers to free women who want to work from this responsibility. It also called for child-care facilities, which the brief showed are presently almost nonexistent. Only 18 small centers operate on a year-round basis.

The brief put forward women's need for job and educational opportunities through sweeping changes in the educational structure and content, and demanded that city hall support the growing campaign to repeat abortion laws.

City Council dismissed the demands by referring them ambiguously to the "appropriate committee."

The HDWLM, initiated last May out of the experiences of a campus group, has emerged as the voice of women's liberation here. Its first public meeting in June drew 75 — mostly women — to hear a panel of activists discuss the movement's basic demands. A later meeting of about 60 heard a women's liberation activist just returned from Britain discuss the movement there.

The Hamilton District Women's Liberation Movement was formed after a lengthy internal dispute in the previously existing McMaster campus group, and it reflects the lessons learned in this struggle. Formed in January 1970, the McMaster Women's Liberation Movement held several successful actions early this year.

Its deterioration began when a campus radical tendency, the McMaster Student Movement (MSM), joined en masse to "educate" and "radicalize" the women's group. Reflecting the sectarian concepts of the Maoist Canadian Party of Labor on women's struggle, MSM members rejected the idea that women should organize independently, and admitted they saw no value in a women's liberation movement. The MSM, largely composed of men, insisted that men be allowed to vote and fulfil leadership positions in the Women's Liberation Movement.

After paralyzing the functioning of the group for some time, the MSMers opposed the group's decision to hold a public meeting for free abortions on demand — and organized a separate meeting of their own conflicting with this action. Shortly after, they walked out of the group.

The group is composed mostly of housewives, with many young working women and some high school and university students. It meets every other week at the Terryberry Library for educational discussions and organizational decisions.

* * *

The HDWLM has responded to this experience by emphasizing that women must organize independently to overcome the problems they face. Membership is open to any interested woman who pays the established dues.

The group plans to move into action on campus and in the high schools this fall, as well as fighting for the needs of working women and housewives. The coming civic elections will provide a focus for these campaigns, and the HDWLM aims to confront candidates with women's demands.

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U.S. arms violate phony 'ceasefire'

by Harry Kopyto

In the latest blow at the Mideast's shaky "ceasefire," U.S. officials disclosed Aug. 31 that Washington is sending substantial shipments of arms to Israel, including Shrike air-to-ground missiles capable of destroying Egypt's defensive anti-aircraft installations. It was understood the arms were U.S. "payment" in return for Israeli agreement to the partial ceasefire.

Egypt warns that UN peace talks promise no solution; Israel talks of ending the ceasefire; Palestinians resolve to continue the struggle. The much heralded ceasefire has changed nothing, solved nothing.

The order for Arabs and Israelis to lay down their arms took effect at midnight August 7 in accordance with peace proposals of U.S. secretary of state Rogers. These proposals are engineered in the spirit of the United Nations resolution of November 22, 1967 whose formula of sound and secure borders for Israel and Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories ignored the right of the Palestinians to their homeland.

If the "ceasefire" looks a bit phony, there's good reason. Its real target was the Palestinian revolutionary movement, which is continuing its resistance struggle. The Palestinian National Council has rejected the ceasefire, and on Aug. 28 its forces were battling in the streets of Amman against troops of the pro-imperialist Jordan regime. If Jordan and Lebanon have supported Egypt in agreeing to the U.S.-Soviet sponsored ceasefire, Syria and Iraq have refused their assent. And in Iraq oil workers have threatened to destroy imperialist oil installations to block any "peace" settlement that violates the rights of the Palestinians.

Far from following Nasser in caving in to U.S. pressure, the Arab world has polarized as significant new forces move into opposition against the Egyptian and other pro-imperialist Arab regimes.

The Palestinian National Council, a broad assembly of representatives of the Palestinian people, denounced on August 28 ceasefires and peace talks which ignore that rights of their people.

It declared that the Palestinian resistance movement was the sole rightful spokesman for Palestinians and had the "natural right of expressing the aspirations of the people to liberate their entire homeland."

American imperialism has been nervously observing the new dynamic of the Palestinian struggle during the last three years. Not only have the Palestinian guerrillas begun to undermine the stability of the Israeli state; their struggle has come into sharp conflict with reactionary Arab regimes in Lebanon and Jordan.

They mobilized hundreds of thousands of Lebanese to defy the government in their defense, and they have built a popular base against Jordanian King Hussein, resisting his repeated attempts to shackle their movement and beginning to establish the elements of an independent revolutionary power within Jordan.

The 1967 war exposed the pretensions of the Nasser clique and the other Arab regimes. So-called progressive Arab states have been revealed as eager for an accommodation with imperialism, fearful of mass anti-imperialist uprisings and unable to renew and revitalize their economies or defend themselves against Zionist aggression.

Most alarming for imperialism has been the development of a revolutionary left within the Palestinian liberation movement whose perspective is one of struggle against reactionary Arab regimes, and unity with progressive

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THE STRUGGLE GOES ON. Palestinian resistance fighters on the march.

Israeli forces in the anti-Zionist struggle.

Left wing forces in the Popular Front and the Democratic Popular Front have joined in a united front with Fatah, the largest resistance organization. While it has not yet committed itself to a socialist course, Fatah in turn is undergoing great ferment and includes a growing left wing. This united struggle has the perspective not just of liberating the Palestinians, but of galvanizing revolutionary forces throughout the Middle East in the anti-imperialist struggle, for socialism — a perspective hardly reassuring to Washington.

The Palestinians have not been invited to the "peace talks" which are supposedly to determine their fate, nor have they been a party to ceasefire maneuvers. For the U.S. peace proposal is nothing more than an attempt to disarm and liquidate the Palestinian movement, the spearhead of the Arab revolution. Washington aims at a deal with the Arab states to isolate the revolutionaries and freeze the class struggle, stabilizing Mideast regimes committed to "law and order."

It is widely understood that the Soviet Union, a firm supporter of the U.S "peace" proposals, played a key role in engineering Nasser's acceptance of the ceasefire. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev has praised the agreement as follows, "There are opportunities now for approaching the settlement of the Middle East conflict from the position of realism and responsibility." He added a scarcely veiled attack on Palestinian opponents of the ceasefire: "This step has already met with sharp opposition from supporters of continued military actions and from all adherents of an aggressive course."

The Soviet leaders, in their quest for peaceful coexistence with imperialism, appear willing to oversee the liquidation of the Arab revolution and its Palestinian vanguard.

There is general pessimism about the "peace talks" at the United Nations. And with good reason. Washington may talk of peace and a just settlement of grievances. But those who thrive from oppression cannot eliminate it. Those whose power depends on war cannot end it.

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PAMPHLET REVIEW

'Waffle' program a challenge to NDP

by Dick Fidler

FOR A SOCIALIST ONTARIO IN AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA, Resolutions prepared for the Ontario NDP convention, October 1970 by the Ontario Waffle Movement in the NDP. Available from Vanguard Bookstores.

For a Socialist Ontario in an Independent Socialist Canada includes the general statement adopted by the founding conference of the Ontario Waffle caucus Easter weekend, together with several key resolutions which the conference prepared for presentation to the NDP's October convention.

The general statement describes how large regions of Ontario, the richest province, are underdeveloped because of the distorted pattern of investment dictated by U.S. corporate domination of the economy. The solution, it says, lies in "extensive public control over investment and the nationalization of large corporations in the key sectors of the economy," and their operation "in such a way as to give control in decision-making to workers and the community."

Labor is assigned the "key role in transforming our society," supported by "farmers, students, tenants, women, and minority groups." The NDP is seen as "the vitalizing center that gives these social forces a common perspective, a sense of solidarity and an organization for united action. Only in this way can power be taken away from the tiny elite which now monopolizes it. . .can capitalism be replaced by socialism."

The statement refutes the charge that the Waffle group is "anti-American." "Our complaint is not against the American people and the progressive movements in that country, but against the American corporate, political and cultural domination of Canada."

Some major elements of a program to implement this approach are spelled out in the resolutions. Outstanding is the document The Liberation of Women, which combines a comprehensive and eloquent explanation of the meaning of women's liberation particularly as it relates to working class women, with a detailed program, including free abortion on demand, free child care services under community control, and "a houseworkers allowance to the man or woman who performs household duties while his or her spouse is working outside the home." The resolution also calls for the NDP to encourage "the equal participation of women in the party" by amending the party constitution to provide that one-third of the executive shall be women.

A resolution on housing and tenants rights spells out detailed proposals leading to a large measure of public ownership of the housing industry, aimed at providing housing for all people at a price not in excess of 20 percent of the occupant's income. Tenants are to enjoy collective bargaining rights and control of building management.

The resolution on universities seems to attribute "liberal orthodoxy" and reactionary ideology in the academic community to the presence of American professors, rather than the essential class character of the educational system. However, specific demands include control of governing structures by student, faculty, staff and "truly representative spokesmen," free research assistance and facilities to tenants associations, trade unions, coops, etc., an end to secret files on professors (and students?) — all of these demands posing the concept of a radically different university serving as an agent of social change, not the status quo.

The analysis in these resolutions, quite penetrating in places, reveals an awareness in the Waffle group of both the failure of corporate capitalism and the serious inadequacy of its liberal critics.

A resolution on extraparliamentary activity, for example, notes that theories of "participatory democracy" fail "to come to grips with the reality of class conflict which liberals deny"; in contrast it calls for "an activist strategy" based on "confrontations with management, landlords and governments" to expose the limitations of capitalism, the inadequacy of "dialogue," and to give people "insight into their own potential power."

While the demands presented in this brochure (additional resolutions on labor and general education are omitted) do not add up to a rounded program and strategy posing workers power, taken in themselves they project some demands and concepts which are central to any strategy for winning the NDP to socialism. They show that socialists in the NDP pose a serious challenge to the right wing leadership on both immediate issues and overall approach.

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Socialists lay plans at Canada-wide parley

A leading French revolutionary socialist and a prominent Canadian student leader will address a public session of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière convention in Toronto Sept. 4.

The convention is expected to bring together close to 200 delegates, members and supporters of the LSA/ LSO from across the country.

Featured speaker at this special opening session is Alain Krivine, candidate of the Ligue Communiste in the 1969 French presidential elections and a prominent student leader in the 1968 French uprising. The meeting will be held at the Ontario College of Education auditorium, corner of Bloor and Spadina.

Richard Thompson, the second speaker, is well-known in radical circles across Canada for his leading role in the student movement. He recently joined the Young Socialists.

The convention has an ambitious agenda, designed to map out the strategy and policies of the LSA-LSO for its work in the entire coming period. For many weeks LSA/ LSO branches have been discussing a score of submissions and resolutions from the central leadership, from a minority tendency within the movement, and from individual members writing on a wide range of topics.

A simultaneous translation system constructed by Montreal members of the League will be used to translate all proceedings.

The convention will discuss a draft resolution on the League's program for and work in the women's liberation movement, and will assess the meaning of the mass women's demonstrations across the continent Aug. 26. A second resolution deals with the nationalist upsurge in Quebec, and in particular proposes support for Québécois independentism in the form of the demand, "For an Independent Socialist Quebec."

The work of socialists in the student movement, in the NDP and in its developing "Waffle" caucus, and the building of the socialist press will be among other topics.

Alain Krivine will address convention

Winnipeg branch, Prairie forums show pace of LSA's growth

WINNIPEG — Women's Liberation, the Real History of Manitoba, and the Origins and Nature of Stalinism were among the topics presented at recent forums here of the Winnipeg Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action.

The beginning of a regular Friday night forum program coincided with the formation of the Winnipeg branch of the LSA in June and its opening of a new headquarters at 211 Graham Ave. The headquarters in downtown Winnipeg includes a bookstore, hall and office space spread over two floors.

Commenting on the formation of the League for Socialist Action here, Dennis Lomas, Winnipeg branch organizer, pointed to Manitoba's NDP government, the strength and influence of the NDP's left "Waffle" caucus, and the rapid growth of the Young Socialists as evidence of the opportunities before the League. "The ideas and program of the LSA," he said, "will play an increasingly important role in Manitoban politics and win many adherents in the coming upsurge of radicalization."

Elsewhere on the Prairies the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialist program of public forums has been rapidly expanding. Ken Novakowski, chairman of the Alberta NDP's "Waffle" caucus steering committee and editor of the Edmonton area NDP newsletter, spoke in the spacious new hall of the LSA and YS in Edmonton Aug. 7, reporting on developments at the recent national "Waffle" conference in Toronto.

Dennis Lomas

The following week the Edmonton forum featured a report on the Blue Quills occupation for Native Indian control of their schools by a prominent Native activist.

Forums have also been held in Saskatoon and Regina in recent weeks, heralding a projected program of regular meetings in these cities this fall.

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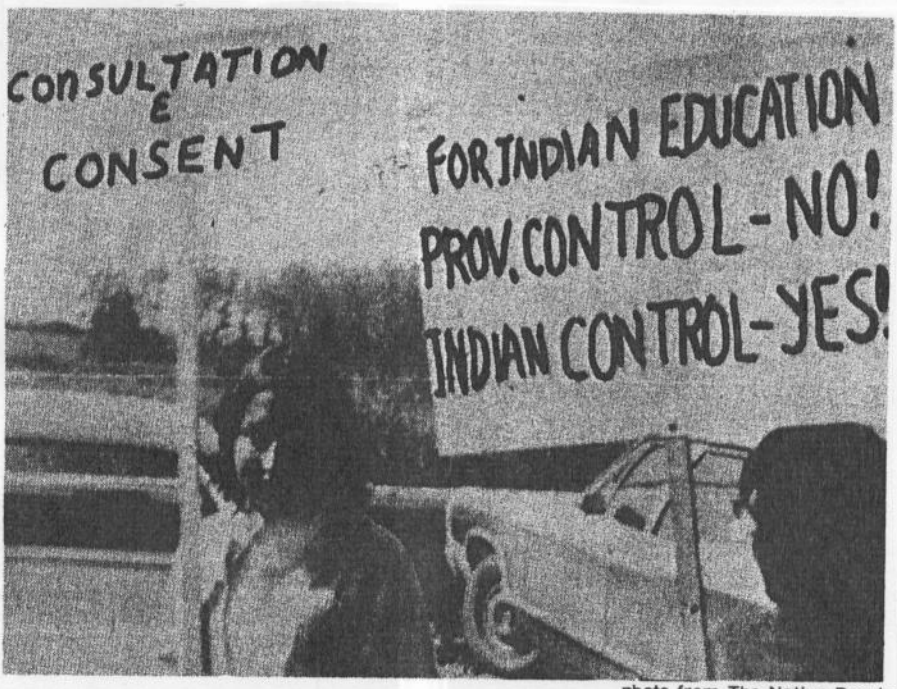

photo from The Native People

FOR INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN SCHOOLS. Native women picket outside Blue Quills school in support of the occupation.

Indians occupy school Ottawa cedes control

. Militant action of Alberta Indians this summer won an important victory in the struggle for control by the Native peoples of their own education. A sit-in by over 200 students and residents at the Blue Quills Residential School, which began July 9, ended in victory July 31 with the announcement in Ottawa by Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien that operation of the school is to be transferred to the Native people in the area, financed by the federal government.

The sit-in came after the federal government, acting in accordance with its "white" paper policy of transferring its responsibilities for Indian welfare to the provinces, served an eviction notice on the people of the Blue Quills school and told them that, beginning in September, they would be bussed to a provincial school in St. Paul and their present school would be turned into a hostel.

Writing in the first issue of The Young Socialist, a new socialist youth monthly, Jeff Choy Hee explains that "the Native people realized that the government was attempting to break its treaty obligations (to provide free education to the Indians). They realized that it would not change the quality of their education, that it would not be in the interests of providing more relevant education. They endured eight months of fruitless negotiations before launching the sit-in."

The sit-in, Choy Hee says, demanded "that the control of Native education be transferred to the Native Educational Council of the Saddle Lake-Athabasca Indian reserve district. The students. . . were also fighting for the right to control staff hiring and firing, respect for independent Native organizations, transfer of educational finances to Native organizations and adult education programs."

The occupation won support throughout Alberta. Indian Affairs offices in Edmonton were picketed for two days by the Native Youth Alliance for Liberation, Native Voice of Women, the Indian Association of Alberta, and the Young Socialists.

As the occupation continued, plans were being laid to extend the demand for community control of education to other parts of the province by carrying out further occupations.

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FLP quits mass action, favors 'urban guerrilla'

The Front de Libération Populaire (FLP), a principal organizer of many of the mass nationalist demonstrations in Montreal during the last two years, has taken an important strategic turn. It recently announced it is abandoning mass actions for an "urban guerrilla" strategy based on "harassing actions by groups of five or six people."

The FLP move followed the breakup by police of their anti-Confederation demonstration July 1. Concluding that demonstrations are impossible, the FLP said it was now necessary to "orient toward new forms of action of the type used by the Lapalme employees to fight their layoffs."

Isolated by lack of support from the CNTU union leadership the Lapalme workers conducted a struggle of great militancy against the Post Office's moves to destroy their jobs.

In the August issue of La Lutte Ouvrière, which reflects the views of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Alain Beiner notes that the FLP orientation "put in question the role, the value and the reasons why we hold mass demonstrations and other mass actions (strikes, rallies, picket lines, civil rights campaigns, etc.). And this question opens up a more fundamental debate — how and with what force are we going to change society?"

The FLP, he says, "is the Quebec expression of ultraleftism. The FLP relies on spectacular actions — violent and illegal demonstrations, window breaking, 'urban guerrillas,' commando groups, etc. The announcement of the July 1 demonstration in the FLP paper La Masse was accompanied by photos of machine guns and gas masks."

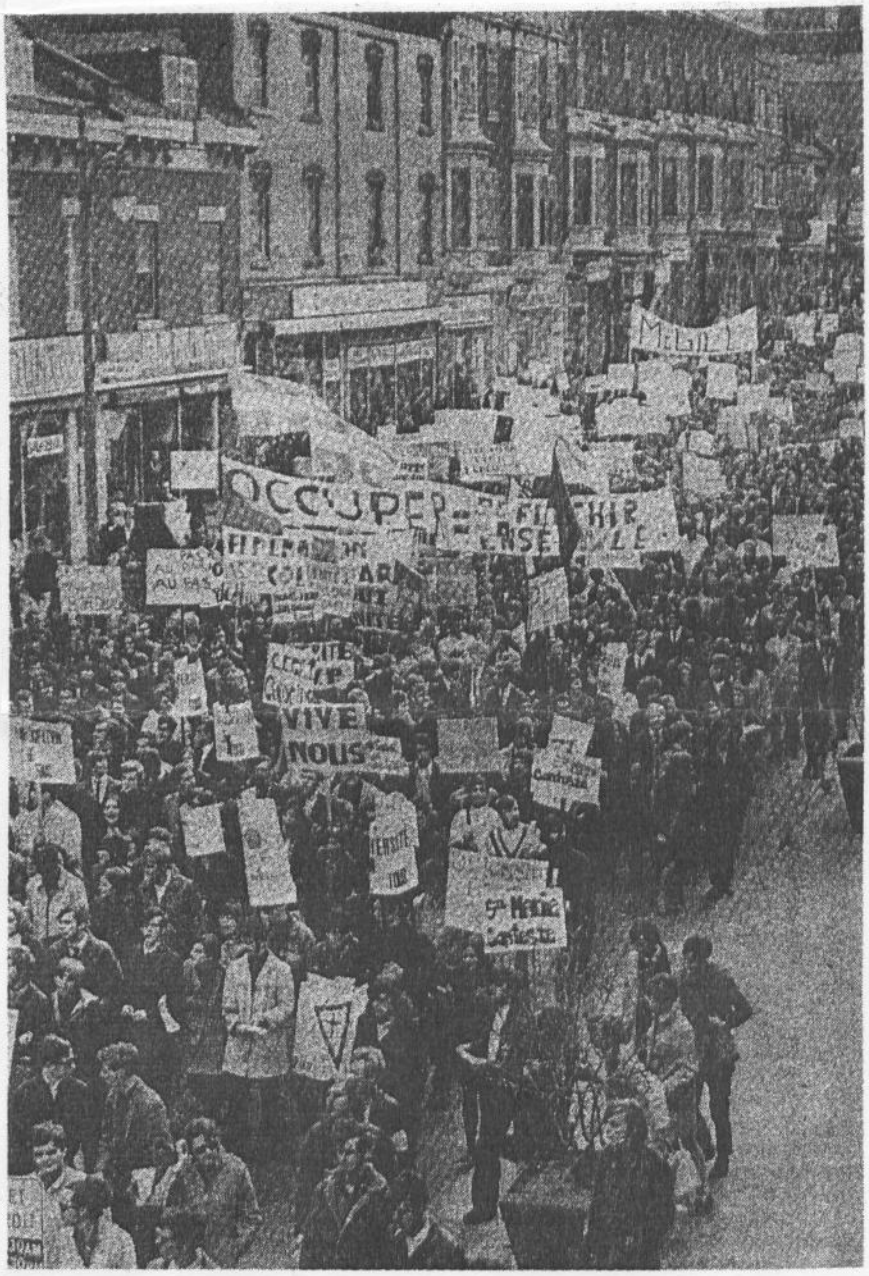
This adventuristically conceived action drew only 400, and was easily dispersed by police.

"Such confrontations can only pull together people who are already radicalized and cannot convince the broad masses of the population of the justice of the demands advanced. Their basic aim is not to build a mass movement, but to frighten the bosses through violent acts."

This ultraleft abandonment of a mass perspective, the La Lutte article notes, while appearing very radical, may have some curious results. For instance, the FLP refused to participate in the recent Quebec elections on the grounds that it would mean playing the bourgeoisie's game. But this abstention left the door open for the Parti Québécois, a bourgeois party, to pick up a large number of radical and working class votes. "The PQ sweep in the Quebec left was so profound that the FLP had to cancel its 'anti-electoralist' demonstration of April 24, for lack of support. Many FLP members capitulated to the pressures and voted PQ."

Revolutionary socialists, La Lutte says, must seek to build broad movements which can mobilize masses of people in struggle around issues that they understand. "It is through their participation in actions around precise questions — Quebec independence, French unilingualism, or women's liberation, for example — that the masses are beginning to question the whole system, to see the links which exist between all these questions and, in fact, to radicalize. This general strategy involves the use of any means which allow us to speak to the masses, as long as those means don't compromise our principles."

Without a mass perspective, the article concludes, "you are only playing with revolution."



HOW TO FIGHT ESTABLISHMENT. Police didn't harass demonstration of 10,000 students which climaxed massive 3-week occupation of Quebec junior colleges in 1968. Groups like FLP (article at right) which have attempted to confront cops with small, adventurist actions only succeed in exposing isolated militants to victimization.

Autoworkers strike hits GM

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NDPers slam gas sellout

by Mark Gans

Thousands of Canadians took to the streets last weekend to protest the proposed sellout of billions of dollars of Canadian energy resources to U.S. big business interests. The demonstrations were the first public display of the mounting anger against the Liberal government's proposed deal.

In Toronto, an impressive gathering of more than 1,000 people marched from City Hall to the provincial government seat at Queen's Park where they heard speakers from the left-wing "Waffle" group of the New Democratic Party and the trade unions lash the latest energy resources deal with the U.S. government.

Similar rallies organized by the Waffle were held in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Ottawa, and other Canadian centres.

Adding a note of urgency to the demonstration in Toronto was a report that Canadian and U.S. energy officials huddling in Montreal on Saturday were near agreement on terms of the sellout. A spokesman for the American delegation declared he was "optimistic" about the outcome of the talks.

But speakers at the Toronto rally, deploring the latest "silent surrender" to U.S. interests, promised a different outcome by posing cross-country caravans and mass demonstrations in Ottawa in November, when high-level ministerial meetings are scheduled between the two governments to consecrate a new energy pact.

"If Parliament is not allowed to decide the issue, the Canadian people will decide it in the streets," declared Waffle spokesman Mel Watkins.

And Grace Hartman, national secretary treasurer of the Canadian Union of Public Employees stated: "The Canadian workers will say 'no' to your deal, Mr. Trudeau, just like in 1837 and the 1930's when the Canadian people defended their interests. So listen and listen well, Mr. Trudeau, because we are demanding back our country."

The Canada-wide demonstrations grew out of efforts by left-wing elements in the NDP, led by the Waffle, who mobilized a few months ago when word leaked out that the Trudeau government was negotiating

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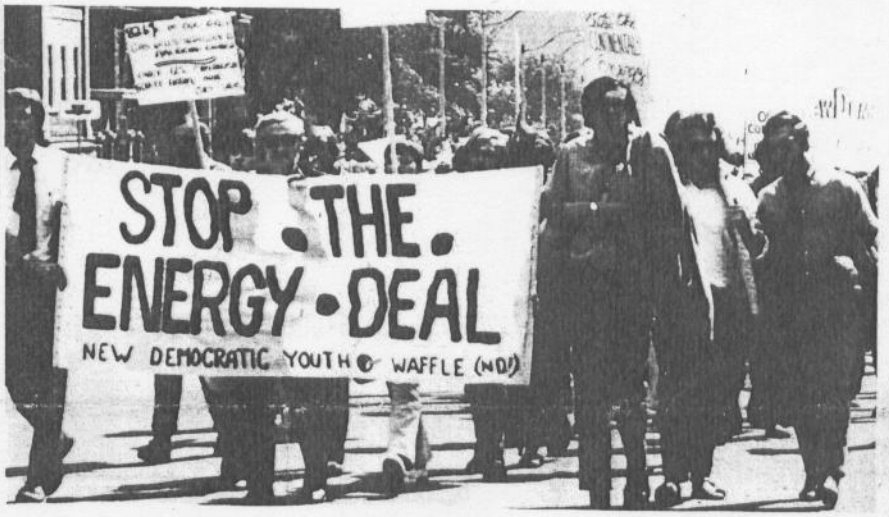

photo by White

A thousand demonstrators, organized by the NDP's "Waffle" caucus, march on Queen's Park.

LSO runs against Drapeau poses labor alternative

by Phil Courneyeur

MONTREAL, September 14 — The Montreal Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) announced today that Manon Leger, pan-Canadian president of the LSO/ LSA, will run against Mayor Jean Drapeau in the fall civic elections.

Manon Léger, who ran as a revolutionary socialist candidate in the April Quebec Natonal Assembly elections, will be, it appears, the sole working class alternative to Drapeau.

The Front d'Action Populaire (FRAP) decided in its end-August convention not to run against Drapeau. This weak-kneed decision opened the door to the much rumoured possibility that René Levesque or some other Parti-Quebécois luminary will run. The LSO had campaigned vigorously to convince the FRAP to enter a candidate.

The LSO supports the development of FRAP. Its leaflet to the FRAP convention stated: "Given its working class character, its origins in the citizens committees and the unions, and its independence from the bourgeois parties, the FRAP could show the way towards independent working class political action on all political levels. . ."

"There are, however, certain weaknesses with FRAP," the LSO noted. "First of all FRAP is not thinking of contesting the mayoralty against Drapeau. That will greatly weaken the import of FRAP's electoral action. . .once

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Manon Leger, Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere candidate for mayor of Montreal.

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MONTREAL, September 14 — The Montreal Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) announced today that Manon Leger, pan-Canadian president of the LSO/ LSA, will run against Mayor Jean Drapeau in the fall civic elections.

Manon Léger, who ran as a revolutionary socialist candidate in the April Quebec Natonal Assembly elections, will be, it appears, the sole working class alternative to Drapeau.

The Front d'Action Populaire (FRAP) decided in its end-August convention not to run against Drapeau. This weak-kneed decision opened the door to the much rumoured possibility that René Levesque or some other Parti-Québécois luminary will run. The LSO had campaigned vigorously to convince the FRAP to enter a candidate.

The LSO supports the development of FRAP. Its leaflet to the FRAP convention stated: "Given its working class character, its origins in the citizens committees and the unions, and its independence from the bourgeois parties, the FRAP could show the way towards independent working class political action on all political levels. . ."

"There are, however, certain weaknesses with FRAP," the LSO noted. "First of all FRAP is not thinking of contesting the mayoralty against Drapeau. That will greatly weaken the import of FRAP's electoral action. . .once

See page 3

Manon Léger, Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière candidate for mayor of Montreal.

p. 3

the latest — and by far the most massive ever — sellout of Canadian resources.

The latest deal makes the pipeline debate of the fifties and the Columbia River scheme of the sixties pale by comparison. It is said to call for the export of nine trillion cubic feet of natural gas worth some three billion dollars to feed the ravenous U.S. military-industrial machine over the next 20 years. In addition, its expansion is posed to include oil, electric power, coal, and water — and, even, according to U.S. Interior Secretary Walter Hickel, resources not yet known.

There are, however, certain points of similarity between the latest and past energy deals.

Trudeau shrugs off opposition to the sellout by pointing to the vast energy "surplus" available for export to American interests. No doubt such a surplus exists. But how great?

Has Trudeau allowed for likely widespread conversion in Canada to natural gas as an anti-pollutant fuel? Energy needs may only rise slowly in a Canada shackled by capitalism. Has Trudeau allowed for the leap forward to a rapidly expanding industrial economy we

See page 6

"Waffle" caucus demonstrations oppose energy resources sellout

continued from page 1

could achieve once free of U.S. and Canadian capitalist domination?

The whole scenario surrounding the deal is achingly familiar: secret negotiations, a reluctance to bring the issues before the Canadian public, little or no substantive data on our real energy supplies or needs over a period of time, and, finally and inevitably, the completed deal with the only real winners the American-owned corporations.

For Canadians, the losers, this latest sellout will undoubtedly mean higher gas prices in the short run.

But, more significantly, the mooted energy deal will, in the long run, help to effectively prevent Canadians from diversifying and broadening the industrial base of the economy, from achieving one less under the thumb of U.S. corporations in vital manufactured and industrial goods.

The NDP has called for an immediate moratorium on any energy resource deal until the federal government has come forward with an explicit energy policy, it has been discussed by the Canadian people, and an inventory has been taken of future Canadian energy supplies and needs.

It should go further to adopt the Waffle demand that all natural resources be brought under public ownership. This would permit the real surplus to be sold at a healthy price and the profits used to further develop the economy in the public interest. It would permit Canada to conclude an open deal, and fully inform American workers of the price and terms of the agreement with U.S. corporations.

In persuing this goal, Canadian workers can join hands with their U.S. counterparts in working for a socialist North America, where they could freely and jointly plan a truly rational and equitable sharing of continental energy resources.

The Waffle has provided the initiative. It remains to be seen whether or not the NDP will pick it up and lead the struggle against the resources deal in Parliament and outside.

The NDP is well-equipped for the task. In calling for a nationalized, planned economy under an NDP government, Manitoba MLA and Waffle leader Cy Gonick, speaking at the Toronto rally, stressed that this was a short-term, rather than long-term, objective.

"We already have the political instrument," he said. "Let's use it. We know what must be done. Let's do it."

Leger is socialist candidate in Montreal mayoralty election

continued from page 1

again the working people will have no say in the choice of Montreal's mayor."

The LSO candidacy for mayor offers the youth and the working people of Montreal such an alternative. Manon Léger's campaign will focus on a working class program for city hall with across-the-board opposition to the clique of boss politicians and profiteers who now run the city.

The weaknesses which the LSO noted in the FRAP are now much more evident. Several of the Comite d'Action Populaire (CAP — the neighborhood units of FRAP) are now pulling back from running candidates — a default which would leave several districts or wards without a working class alternative to Drapeau's party. This weakness was already clear at the time of the FRAP convention where a considerable number of delegates opposed.

They favoured the idea of FRAP remaining a pressure group which would study civic problems and offer solutions to the status quo; and perhaps at a later date run a slate of candidates.

The slow entry of the FRAP into the electoral arena betrays the promise of the lively, determined August convention. Over 400 FRAP delegates and participants adopted a whole series of demands — on unilingualism, pollution, women's rights, health, transportation — demands which, if given the voice of a strong slate in the elections, could have seriously challenged Drapeau's gang for control of City Hall.

The FRAP delegates firmly applauded the programatic initiatives of members of the LSO on both the language question and the question of women's liberation, and adopted many other radical demands put forward by rank-and-file delegates.

Without a strong FRAP slate, the responsibility of confronting the big business machine at City Hall will become the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere's and all militants who understand the principle involved and the great opportunity. Manon Leger is a highly qualified candidate. As a young woman worker, recently a student, Leger knows what side she is on — for the youth and the working Quebecois against the money-grubbers, real-estate hucksters, and gang of cut-throat profiteers who run City Hall. For a city belonging to the working people!

labor Challenge #16 Sept. 1970

Left choice needed in Ont. NDP race

by William Dalton

As the Ontario NDP moves towards its Oct. 2-4 provincial convention, the degeneration of the Walter Pitman — Stephen Lewis leadership contest has raised again, with increased urgency, the need for a socialist alternative in the election.

The Ontario Waffle meeting of September 19 must reconsider its previous decision and move to field a candidate.

As the first of six leadership confrontations showed, held Sept. 11 in Kitchener, (see below) the campaign has degenerated into a personality contest in which there are no clear political differences and no left alternative is posed.

When the NDP's left "Waffle" caucus decided earlier not to field a candidate, it reflected in part the illusions of many in the Waffle that Lewis could be won to a program close to theirs, or that he at least represented a left alternative.

These hopes are now revealed as delusions.

The failure of Pitman and Lewis to offer serious alternatives reflects the sterility of the party's right-wing leadership, to which both are firmly attached — a leadership unable to respond to the new challenges before the party, challenges which demand socialist solutions.

Criticism of the Waffle caucus is just one more instance in which Lewis and Pitman are in full agreement. Lewis in particular has lashed out at the Waffle's key principle — the need for nationalization of the giant monopolies.

It is late in the day. But the need is only more obvious for the Waffle to intervene by fielding a candidate.

The Waffle includes figures known across the party. More importantly, it has the key elements of the strategy and program required. It has prepared concrete programmatic alternatives on all the major questions left unanswered by Pitman- Lewis. But its program, strong as it is, will tend to be ignored in a convention centered on such a hollow leadership race.

The Ontario Waffle membership meeting Sept. 19 in Toronto will choose candidates for several party offices. This meeting must move to provide a genuine alternative in the leadership race by fielding a candidate.

The caucus, and the party as a whole, can only gain from having the socialist alternative voiced from the rostrum of the leadership contest.

"Pitman and I have no differences" says Lewis at Kitchener debate

KITCHENER, Sept. 12—It's not only cynics who point out that the Ontario NDP leadership race between Stephen Lewis and Walter Pitman resembles the latest Canadian version of Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

Lewis admits it.

In a public confrontation with Pitman at the University of Waterloo yesterday, Lewis sadly conceded that he has "yet to witness any major differences."

Both candidates, he reflected, had been "desperately groping" for differences.

Lewis did start out by telling his listeners that the NDP would fight for "control over our own economy with no holds barred."

A promising start. But Lewis refused to say he would nationalize the large monopolies and his idea of "confronting corporate power" did not go beyond vague suggestions of increased taxation of large concerns and the use of crown corporations to manage new primary industries.

Nor would he spell out how the NDP would handle U.S. corporations except to say the party must be "prepared to stop this transferring of Canadian resources to feed the insatiable lust of the American economy."

Lewis, recognizing the "deep restlessness" of the Ontario people, thought they would vote for "thoughtful solutions but no-nonsense solutions" (read "non-radical solutions").

Pitman similarly evaded the problem of control of the monopolies. "The NDP might consider expropriation," he stated, "if an existing industry were acting against the public interest." Apparently regarding this as an exceptional occurrence, he did not advocate substantial nationalization.

Apart from this he displayed a good — if inadvertent — sense of humor.

On monetary issues, particularly pensions: "I want to get pensions out of the election; this is the most despicable aspect in election politics — promising people more money."

On priorities facing an NDP government: First, recruit "bright, intelligent people to Queen's Park"; second, "restructure the Cabinet"; third, "get a vote of confidence from the people of Ontario."

On the needs of the Ontario voter: "Emphasize wise, sensible moderate policies. . .We have to convince them we have the compassion and the philosophy for people. . .We need people that people can trust."

On Canada's complicity in Vietnam, nothing from the candidates. On Canada's military alliance with the U.S., nothing. On relations with Quebec, nothing. On the status of women, nothing.

labor Challenge #16 Sept. 1970

Allende wins presidential contest

Chile on socialist path?

by David Williams

The Chilean presidential elections of September 4 marked a sharp defeat for the ruling Christian Democratic party and a surprise victory for the left candidate, Salvador Allende.

The Christian Democratic candidate, Radomiro Tomic, polled 28% of the popular vote, compared to 42% for his party in 1964. Allende headed the polls with 36%, narrowly defeating Jorge Alessandri, candidate of the right-wing Partido National who received 35%. In the 1964 elections, the right-wing bourgeois parties formed an electoral bloc behind Eduardo Frei's candidacy to prevent Allende from winning office.

Because Allende received only a plurality of the popular vote, the election is to be decided by congress at a session October 24.

In his victory speech to a giant crowd Allende declared: "I will not be just another president. I will be the first president of the first authentically democratic, popular, national and revolutionary government in the history of Chile." In his campaign, Allende promised to restore diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, and to carry out extensive nationalizations, particularly of foreign-owned businesses.

But will the character of the Allende coalition permit these reforms to be legislated? Will the Chilean capitalists, their army and their Washington backers permit them to be carried out?

The Allende forces represent a multi-class bloc dominated by the Communist Party (28 seats), and the Socialist Party (20 seats). It also includes the bourgeois

Salvador Allende

liberal Radical Party (33 seats), and two small left-wing formations (2 seats).

The current election does not represent a sharp shift to the left. Even in 1964, at the time of the Christian Democratic landslide, the combined vote of the Communist, Socialist and Radical parties amounted to 36% of the total, only 0.3% less than the September 4 results. What is new is a split among the bourgeois parties over whether or not to pursue Frei's program of token agrarian reforms and minimal social welfare measures.

The Chilean Socialist Party stands to the left of the Communist Party, and Allende himself is in the left wing of the Socialist Party. He is an open supporter of the Cuban revolution, and was in turn supported, during his campaign, by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Commenting on the election results September 11, the Toronto Globe and Mail saw grounds to maintain a cool confidence in "the resiliency of the Chilean polity." The Globe pointed out that Allende has operated within the confines of the parliamentary system for more than two decades.

It pointed to the right-wing congressional majority, which frustrated even the modest reform program of Frei, as a check on Allende. And with an eye to army coups against left-wing regimes in other Latin American states, it commented, "Nor is the Chilean army likely to allow the Constitution to be overturned."

Within Allende's coalition, the Communist Party has considerable weight. It adheres to a rigidly reformist and electoral scheme for the "democratic revolution". Its perspective for maintaining a viable majority in congress is to preserve the alliance with the Radical Party at all costs and to win an important sector of the Christian Democrats.

Clearly, the political and economic forces represented by the Radical Party will not go along with a program which in any way threatens the essential character of Chilean capitalism. This is true also of the military and police forces.

Within the framework of parliamentary politics, Allende's program is a radical one. But it remains to be seen what his bourgeois allies, in the Radical Party and without, will allow him to put into practice.

labor Challenge #16 Sept 1970

MASS STRUGGLE. Demonstrations like this expressed the mass character of the Arab revolution. across the Arab world have

Hijackings: diversion from mass struggle

During the raging crisis in Jordan, as forces of the Palestinian resistance clashed repeatedly with the armies of the Jordanian monarchy, headlines in Western papers were dominated by the events in an isolated airfield — the spectacular hijackings of four airliners and holding of 50 hostages by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The hue and cry raised by the imperialist powers against the hijackings, rings hollow in view of repeated terrorism of the Israeli government against the Palestinians and in light of the daily crimes of genocide committed by the United States against the people of Vietnam.

But the Popular Front is nevertheless wrong. Its spectacular action leads the struggle of the Palestinian resistance away from its path to victory — building the mass movement of Palestinians to liberate themselves from their oppressors.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has disassociated itself from the hijackings. The Palestinian people will reaffirm their commitment to defeat imperialism through mass struggles.

The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a left-wing Palestinian resistance organization, has addressed itself to the basic questions posed by the hijackings. The following article expresses their views on the character of the Palestinian struggle.

The following statement of Nayef Hawatmeh, dated September 22, 1969, is taken from Al-Hourriah, a semi-official publication of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPF). Hawatmeh is a leading member of the Central Committee of the DPF, one of the three major Palestinian resistance organizations, and his statement sheds light on issues involved in recent plane hijackings by the Popular Front, another resistance group. The translation from Arabic is by Labor Challenge.

There are two distinct forms of military strategy being waged by the Palestinian resistance: one directed towards involving the masses in military struggle and the other relying on spectacular individual actions. Each of these forms of struggle have separate and contradictory roots.

Mass action relies on the Palestinian masses, seeks to place them in the central participatory role and emphasizes the need for large scale human sacrifice and the development of a mass heroism which impels people to die in defence of their homeland.

Individualistic acts, though gaining immense publicity, are rooted in an ideological position which replaces mass action with individual terrorism.

This tendency harms our resistance movement for it leads the people to individualistic acts of heroism rather than mass heroism and reduces the masses to a role of merely observing the struggle instead of playing the active role within it. It leads to individualistic consciousness rather than raising the consciousness of the need for mass involvement.

The participation of broad layers in the armed struggle appeals to progressive forces among our people as well as internationally while individual terrorism stimulates the most backward notions of our people and harms our movement in the eyes of progressive world public opinion.

Through involving the broadest layers of our people, the resistance movement becomes a mass movement with a mass ideology which makes clear that the war of liberation goes far beyond individualistic acts of heroism.

The Vietnamese are fully able to launch military acts against American interests outside of Vietnam but they refused to do that from the very beginning for ideological reasons, because they know this tactic would lead the struggle into an insecure path, basing their struggle on individual heroism rather than mass participation.

The National Liberation Front in Vietnam, I believe, is more capable than we are to commit individual terror outside of Vietnam, but their refusal over the past years to pursue this course and their determination to involve the mass of Vietnamese in their actions is proof of their confidence that the Vietnamese people can achieve victory over the technically superior imperialist war machine.

Instead of sinking itself into the sea of individual brave acts, the Palestinian resistance movement should learn from the Vietnamese.

Mass resistance is the only way to draw the masses away from individual spectacular actions which cut the people off from direct daily participation in their own liberation.

We must struggle for the acceptance of this mass strategy in the ranks of all the Palestinian resistance organizations because only this strategy leads the armed struggle forward.

THE ROOTS OF REVOLT

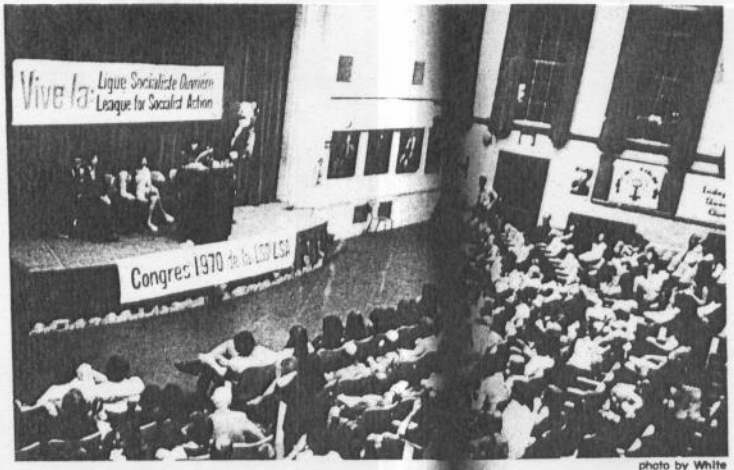

photo by White

ESSION. Alain Krivine addresses the crowd ... nvention's first session.

LSA/LSO nvention

NDP debate sets tasks for party's left

by Anne Macdonald

The convention's discussion of the New Democratic Party ranged widely from the long-range strategy of revolutionary socialists in the party to the immediate challenge posed by the NDP's left-wing "Waffle" caucus.

A contribution by Ross Dowson provided a historical view of the work of revolutionaries to build the NDP, and its predecessor the CCF, and win them to socialism. His article updated his 1951 document on the CCF, which has been surreptiously but widely circulated by the NDP and New Democratic Youth leaderships.

It unequivocably reaffirms that the NDP, from the day of its founding, has been the political party of the English-Canadian working class. It warns, however, that "While in its ranks there are forces that will come to the revolution, this party will never make the revolution, nor can it be reformed to serve this purpose.

"Thus the NDP represents both an opening to and a barrier against, stands both on the way and athwart the way of the building of the revolutionary vanguard.

"For the class as a whole over the entire past period the NDP represents a progressive and important step forward in their political development and it will continue to do so for some period." Only if this party ceases to be the alternative in the eyes of the class would revolutionaries be justified to stop supporting it.

Dowson's document describes the Trotskyists' struggles to establish their orientation to the labor party. "Our CCF-NDP orientation and its effective application has been the hardest fought position in the history of the movement, established against trends of centrist conciliationism and liquidationism into the NDP, sectarian opposition and in more recent years spontaneist and adventurist hostility to it, leading to defection from the revolutionary vanguard itself."

"Our orientation to the NDP," his document concludes, "is an orientation to the working class in the process of developing political consciousness. We have been firm and consistent in maintaining this orientation because we have no intention of being cut off or cutting ourselves off from the force that is destined to settle accounts with capitalist rule and establish workers power."

The convention discussion picked up in detail the issues raised in the second report, which discussed the Waffle caucus.

The tremendous potential of the Waffle caucus has been reflected in NDP conventions, where it has obtained the support of 1/ 4 to 1/ 3 of the delegates.

The Waffle formation is vital to provide a vehicle through which the growing numbers of conscious socialists in the NDP can come to grips with the anti-socialist leadership, and to prevent socialists from dropping away from the party, and from meaningful political activity, through the lack of any concrete perspective for action.

However nationally and in two key provinces, B.C. and Ontario, the Waffle's leadership is firmly in the hands of a cliquist middle-class leadership. Cy Gonick's contribution to the recent national Waffle conference, entitled "Revolutionary Reformism," summed up their non-revolutionary orientation.

This centrist element tends to lack understanding of two key political facts. First they envisage the takeover and use of the state in more or less its present form, either through electoral means, perhaps reinforced by mass mobilizations, or through some other, undefined process.

They do not see that the present state machinery, totally shaped by and committed to the capitalist class, has to be swept aside so new structures can be built controlled by the workers. A social revolution, not just a change of governments, is what is required.

Moreover their petty-bourgeois character has led them to misunderstand the key role of the NDP's roots in the organized working class, and even to question at times their orientation to the NDP.

The convention outlined several key problems confronting the Waffle today, which result in the main from these questions.

1. The Waffle has to develop a cohesive cohesive set of alternative demands to present in the party which together will lead the class towards socialism but which at the same time can be understood by the class now.

2. The Waffle has to deepen its roots inside the party, relate to its struggle and concerns, and not substitute itself for the party, or slip outside the party.

3. The Waffle has to understand the need for a principled democratic leadership for the class both in its mass political expression and the unions. This means replacing the present leaderships. It also means that the Waffle itself has to adhere strictly to these principles. Neither the NDP nor the Waffle must tolerate elitism, sectarianism, expulsions and witch-hunting for ideas whose free development is crucial for the party's continuing progress.

A lengthy discussion from the floor worked out several problems of the intervention of revolutionary socialists in the Waffle and the NDP, and concluded with the adoption of the general principles and proposals of the two major reports.

labor Challenge #16 Sept 1970

Independent socialist Quebec: path for national liberation

by John Wilson

The 1970 convention of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere marked a major turn in the work of revolutionary socialists in Quebec, distinctly summarized in the very title of the document adopted by the plenary session on Quebec, "For an Independent and Socialist Quebec."

The document was presented by Arthur Young, editor of La Lutte Ouvrière. It states, "In 1968 we noted (in the document Vive le Québec Libre/ Vers la Libération du Québec) that 'national consciousness has given new dimensions to the class struggle.' But up until the momentous developments of the past two years, there was no significant working class sentiment for independentism as such, despite the growth of a profoundly revolutionary national consciousness. There was no reason to believe that the demand for independence was required to advance the interests of the overall struggle of the Quebec workers.

The developments of the last two years have changed that decisively. The document continues,

". . .A powerful nationalist upsurge has extended deep into the ranks of the urban working class, the vast majority of the Québécois population, taking form notably around the massive mobilizations in defense of the French language and the development of the mass sentiment for an independent Quebec."

"The growing support for independentism is profoundly revolutionary. It signifies above all a collective disillusionment in the capacity of the existing legal and political structures — and by implication, the social structures which they consecrate — to overcome the national inequality; and it denotes a deep desire for a radical change from top to bottom in the entire political structure. This is the essential revolutionary dynamic of the national consciousness."

Young explained that the emergence of a powerful student movement, highlighted by such events as the massive occupation of the CEGEPs in the fall of '68, and the "McGill francais" march in the spring of '69 has contributed heavily to this. So too has the ongoing struggle for unilingualism, which drawing on all sectors of Québécois society peaked in the massive protest march of over 40,000 on the Quebec legislature last autumn, mobilized against the entrenchment of English-language privileges in the infamous Bill 63. Combined with these, the increased militancy and combativity of Quebec workers, emerging in highly advanced forms of struggle, demonstrate the immense possibilities for the growth of revolutionary socialism in Quebec in the coming period.

The immense growth of independentist sentiment in the working class was registered most decisively in the elections of April 1970.

But while the growth of this sentiment is highly progressive the emergence of the Parti Québécois (PQ) as its principal political expression at this time is not. The convention rejected any notion that the PQ as such is a step forward and condemns the opportunist capitulation of the majority of the Quebec left to the massive sweep of the PQ's popular support. It characterizes the PQ as a bourgeois nationalist party with a case-hardened leadership of middle class professionals and careerists which precludes changing it from within or without. Even were the PQ to take power and negotiate a "cold" (peaceful) agreement with Ottawa for "sovereignty," this would not move Quebec one iota toward solving the basic cause of its national oppression — the ownership and rape of the economy by the foreign imperialism.

For the workers, the PQ is an obstacle, a trap, a diversion. The burning objective necessity facing the Quebec labor movement is to break from the PQ and establish a viable alternative — a mass labor party responsible to the class.

After a lengthy discussion, in which all Québécois members had full speaking rights, the convention overwhelmingly adopted Young's report and the document, setting the task before Quebec revolutionaries of intervening in the mass nationalist movement and leading it in its logical anti-capitalist course of development.

Key to this process is building the cadres of the revolutionary socialist movement in Quebec — nucleus of the future mass vanguard revolutionary party.

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Help us find 1500 new readers!

by Peter Sharpe

A cross-Canada drive with a goal of 1,500 new subscriptions to Labor Challenge is now underway. The drive will run from September 15 to November 15, and will feature a special introductory offer of $1.00 for 8 issues (4 months).

A combined introductory subscription to Labor Challenge and the Young Socialist, Canada's leading student socialist paper, is $2.00.

The growing women's liberation movement, worldwide actions against the Indochina war, the NDP's left "Waffle" caucus, strike actions across the country, self-determination for Vietnamese, Québécois, Palestinians; pollution, germ warfare, nuclear weapons — how can we find out "just what the hell is going on?"

There's an easy way — buy a subscription to Labor Challenge and every two weeks an issue will be mailed to you giving you a socialist perspective on these questions and more. Read it — discuss it — pass it on!

Over 100 subs have already arrived in our office from supporters across the country. One of the first letters to arrive here came from Beaver Harbour, N.B. with the comment that, "I have convinced 20 young people here to join the NDP. Twelve want a year's subscription to the YS and two more want one year subs to Labor Challenge."

Our supporters across the country have set themselves sub quotas; these quotas are listed in the scoreboard below.

We hope you will send us anecdotes on "How I sold my sub". Build the Press! Reach 1,500 new subscribers!

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Tor. forum: Haggar hits phony truce

"The aim of the so-called Rogers Peace Plan is to obliterate the Palestine entity and dam up the torrents of Arab revolution."

From this starting point, Dr. George Haggar proceeded to demolish the phony Mideast ceasefire to an audience of over 100 at the Toronto Vanguard Forum August 21. Haggar, newly-elected president of the Canadian Arab Federation, explained that it is not the pursuit of peace in the Middle East that motivates U.S. policy.

"They seek the defeat of the Palestine revolution, the enshrining of the Arab status quo and the perpetuation of the Zionist state as a permanent beachhead of American imperialism and reaction," he explained.

Haggar concluded that "however unanimous the parties to the prospective agreements may be, and no matter what overwhelming odds they possess or what resolute determination they can garner to implement their proposals," all agreements that ignore the reality of the Palestinian revolution and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination are destined to fail.

The discussion featured a lively debate between Arab militants and supporters of Zionism present in the audience.

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Toronto Daily Star Tues Oct. 20, 1970

THE QUEE

Ottawa View

Anthony Westell

Only 16 NDPers stood up against police state laws

OTTAWA — "This is a day for unity," intoned Conservative Leader Robert Stanfield in the Commons yesterday, underlining his party's horror at the murder of Pierre Laporte.

The government thought so too, and skilfully sought a compromise with the Opposition members who had objected strongly to the imposition of police state regulations for more than half a year, to April 30.

House Leader Allan MacEachen explained piously that Justice Minister John Turner and his officials had worked until mindinght Sunday to decide that new legistlation replacing the War Measures Act could be promised within a month.

The house beamed its approval of this surprising discovery, and moved to approve the government motion endorsing its action in the crisis.

Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, with the familiar pink flower in his lapel, rose in his place on the treasury bench to lead the vote, amid thunderous applause. On the packed Liberal benches, 128 MPs stood one after the other and bowed to the Speaker to approve, for a temporary period, withdrawal of civil liberties: Search and arrest without warrant, detention without charge for up to 21 days, 90 days in jail without a day in court, and so on.

Stanfield, lean and lugubrious, wearing his statesman's solemn face, rose from his seat facing Trudeau to begin the roll call of 52 Tory votes in favor of the motion.

Mutter of derision

There was a mutter of derision in the House as David MacDonald, the 34-year old Conservative clergyman from Prince Edward Island, stood slowly, reluctantly to support the measure. In a deeply troubled, if exaggerated speech on Saturday, he had had the courage to draw attention to the wave of arrests in Quebec and the confiscation of political literature, and the guts to ask the questions demanding reassuring answers: "Does this action which has now been taken by the government (i.e., the emergency powers) represent in effect a seizure of the opportunity to suppress and repress those who have disagreed with them and whom they cannot accept?"

But on Sunday MacDonald was in Hamilton, discovering that the Canadian people are in a mood to back repression to the limit and have no interest in discussing the loss of civil liberties. The government, meanwhile, was at least moving to limit its powers, and the Conservative party, enjoying a precarious unity for the first time in years, wanted to express national agreement on the issue. So MacDonald stood to vote.

Six Creditiste MPs added their votes, making all the Quebec members in the House unanimous in support of the emergency powers.

Four members of the New Democratic Party supported the government also. The best known was the party's financial critic, Max Saltsman, from Waterloo, who may have been influenced in part by the Jewish community's natural fear of the FLQ links with the Palestinian guerrillas and its anti-Semitism.

A day for unity in the Commons indeed; 190 votes from all four parties for the government's assumption of police state powers.

Not everyone okays act

The trouble is that the House of Commons is not designed to express monolithic unity. It is supposed to reflect divisions in the country, and not every Canadian by a long shot approves of invoking the War Measures Act, even for a month.

They want to crush the FLQ, of course. But they don't quite see what that has to do with arresting student editors in Hull, Que., picking up democratic separatists, confiscating literature.

They have seen no evidence yet that the FLQ actually was capable of insurrection within the meaning of the law, and the government's main speaker on the subject, Jean Marchand, was so extravagant as to be unbelievable: "These people have infiltrated every strategic place in the province of Quebec."

The doubters think it incredible, intolerable, that police refuse to disclose who has been arrested, apparently on the order of the Quebec justice minister.

They wonder how many charges will in fact be laid, and how many people will be quietly released after days of detention with no chance to notify their relatives, consult a lawyer or answer the evidence alleged against them.

They are concerned that French Canadians striving to maintain faith in democracy shall not face a Parliament cor
ties.

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Which way for socialists in the NDP

by Dick Fidler
(Labor Challenge, October 1970)

Among the many position papers circulated at the recent national conference of the NDP's left-wing "Waffle" group, was a long document by Manitoba MLA Cy Gonick entitled 'Revolutionary Reformism – A Strategy.'

Gonick's paper discussed some important questions. Has capitalism today succeeded in overcoming its major contradictions? Should socialists aim only to control the worst abuses of the capitalist system, or to abolish it altogether? What is the relationship between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary action in socialist strategy, and how can we make our program for radical change relevant to the mass of the population? How important is nationalization of industry?

All socialists will agree with many of Gonick's observations. Notwithstanding the claims of most social democrats, capitalism, he says, has not essentially changed. "Nothing has altered the power to reap private benefits from the use of the means of production." As a system based on private property, it “remains a system if privilege, the main source of inequality."

What has changed is that the giant corporations which have replaced small business enterprise have qualitatively increased the social irresponsibility of capitalism — through their power to set prices and finance themselves from their own surplus profits; their distorted investment priorities; and their increasing tendency to shift social costs onto the public treasury or to ignore them altogether.

To man's alienation as producer from the means of production has been added a growing alienation as consumer, beset by meaningless advertising, a polluted environment, etc.

Multinational in scope, the new corporations have led to increasing dependence of more and more countries on the U.S., the "new American empire". A number of recent developments, such as the growing reliance of U.S. business on foreign sources of energy resources and raw materials, have increased the direct link between business and government: “The state and the corporation are inseparable."

It follows, Gonick rightly argues, that the vested interests of militarism have now penetrated so deeply in industry, government and the academy, not to mention the warrior class itself, that any respect for an **evolutionary** transition to a peace economy can be based on little more than faith." (emphasis added)

Moreover, attempts to overcome internal difficulties in the system have created new problems, without resolving many of the old ones. He cites the notable incapacity of postwar capitalism "to achieve full employment and stable prices at one and the same time."

Gonick's conclusion? Socialists cannot accept the traditional liberal and social democratic readiness to "leave the basis of capitalism unchallenged."'

"A party of the left must be the agency for transforming capitalism into a democratic socialist commonwealth and this cannot be accomplished without confronting the reality of all capitalist systems, namely, the monopoly power of business enterprise. . ." Ownership is crucial. "If real economic power is left in the hands of the corporate rich and its hired experts, then **their** priorities and **their** interests would ultimately prevail, whatever the planning mechanisms that are established. Because they retain control over the means of production they are in a position to veto the decisions of electoral majorities."

Socialists must recognize, says Gonick, that "real political power resides outside the legislature," and accordingly develop a strategy based on extra-parliamentary action.

Up to this point, Gonick has made the case for revolution, that is, a fundamental change in the ownership of the means of production, the replacement of capitalist rule by the establishment of a workers state. Thus he polemicizes against the concept of reforms which are "compatible with the system" and base themselves on the principle that "above all else confrontation with the business community is to be avoided."

"To plod along the path of evolutionary reforms is a deception for it can only modify capitalism not replace it."

Yet while Gonick declares himself firmly for the ultimate abolition of capitalism, he attacks what he terms "old-style revolution" which he defines as "the sudden seizure of the means of production and the state". Revolutionists, he implies, are guilty of presenting "apocalyptic visions of the sudden and complete nationalization of industry." This, he says, is "unrealistic and dangerous to the extreme."

"To choose between 'revolution' and 'evolution' is to have no choice at all," Gonick states. He proposes instead "revolutionary" or "anticapitalist" reforms. "An anticapitalist reform is one which when it is introduced, permanently diminishes the power of business and the market as the dynamic force in economic, social and cultural life." This may be introduced by legislation, but in part they will be introduced and carried off through extra-parliamentary struggle by workers, farmers, tenants, students, etc.

If all Gonick is saying here is that socialists must formulate their program through demands which can mobilize people in anticapitalist struggle around immediate relevant issues, then it is hard to see how he differs with the revolutionary socialists. But what Gonick goes on to propose is in effect a different method of struggle which deprecates the traditional socialist insistence on the primacy of state power and public ownership, and instead substitutes a concept of dismantling the system from within, piece by piece so to speak, through

the creation of alternative institutions of popular rule "which evolve from the mass actions of the people themselves and which are controlled and administered by them" —prior to the winning of power at the state level.

Thus anticapitalist reforms, he says, will come about not so much by political action at the state level (although government control remains an ultimate objective) as by extraparliamentary activity through a concept similar to what the new left calls "counter-communities" within the existing system.

Gonick projects "a movement towards the establishment of communal associations, associations of people living and working along communal lines according to the principle from each according to his ability to each according to his need" — "whether before or after the winning of office by a socialist party," it doesn't matter! "At best, a socialist state might make it easier to establish communes."

What does this concept of organizing outside the traditional political arena do to the classic socialist emphasis on nationalization?

"Socialism means public ownership," Gonick affirms. But "immediate and universal nationalization — even of the commanding heights of the economy — is an implausible strategy at this time. "**Given the political consciousness of the vast majority of our people, such a program does not answer their day to day needs.**" (emphasis in original)

Nationalization, he continues, is "a relevant and immediate solution" where industries are "clearly' exploitative of consumers" and the public is fed up. But it may not be necessary to nationalize the whole industry — maybe only one enterprise to set standards "in competition with private companies."

And creation of new government enterprises is preferable to takeovers of existing private ones'. Or the government could begin by acting "as if it were a majority stockholder in all major corporations," demanding they behave with social responsibility "without taking them into public ownership." And so on. "There is something inherently desirable about promoting a broad diversity of approaches. . ."

Diverse approaches? But isn't that just what the reformist social democrats, with their theories of the "mixed" (private and public) economy, tell us? For all the radical rhetoric of Cy Gonick's position, it is hard to see what there is in his concrete program that they could disagree with.

In short, while Gonick agrees that "ultimately" capitalism must be replaced by socialism, his attack on the socialist emphasis on public ownership of the key sectors of the economy strengthens the impression that what he is really proposing is an essentially reformist concept of political action that evades the whole problem of coming to grips with the capitalist state.

And in this framework, his suggestion that it is possible to. break down the system from within, piece by piece, by building democratic alternative power bases which will somehow replace private ownership with social ownership of property and industry short of a workers' government, verges on utopianism. It is not a viable alternative even to classic social-democratic reformism, let alone revolutionary socialism.

Gonick argues implicitly that the modern corporate state is too powerful to be confronted directly through legislation, and he argues explicitly that in any case the masses are not and presumably will not be prepared to accept nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy.

But how can capitalism be abolished without destroying the power of capital? And how can this be done except through winning state power and nationalizing at least the "commanding heights", the key industries? How, indeed, can socialists put forward demands for workers control of industry for example, without at the same time advancing an overall strategy for governmental power and public ownership? Without this perspective, worker control demands can be easily coopted by the capitalist regime into "participationist" schemes which subject the workers all the more thoroughly to the bosses' control, rather than winning them a greater say over production and work conditions.

Gonick's insistence that people can win significant control over their destiny **outside** the power structures lends a fatal ambiguity to many of his more appealing observations. Noting that parliament is not the real center of decision-making for the capitalists, he concludes that political action itself is of somewhat secondary importance — and thus undermines the possibility of political confrontation with the capitalist state at all levels.

His obvious point that nationalization must be selective begs the important question of what our priorities should be, while his later proposal that demands for public ownership should focus on specific non-central sectors of the economy leaves open the possibility that the capitalist themselves can carry out such nationalizations in order to rationalize (and hence consolidate) the capitalist economy. (The campaign to nationalize such industries as natural monopolies and blatant violators of the public interest can of course be used to make the case for nationalization in general.)

To insist that nationalization of the key sectors of the economy remain a central part of the socialist program is not to make a fetish of "immediate and universal" nationalization "at one great blow". It is simply to recognize the necessity and importance of public ownership as the key instrument of socialist planning.

Capitalism can no more be abolished step by step than an army can be taken apart battalion by battalion. Revolutionary socialists have always understood that the state, as the leading military, judicial, administrative and

legislative institution in capitalist society, is the supreme expression of capitalist rule. Marx called it the "executive committee of the ruling class."

Among its functions are provision of public utilities and services essential to the normal functioning of the system, the arbitration of conflicts between individual capitalists and groups of capitalists within the nation, in the interests of the system as a whole — and the control and suppression of necessary of opposition to the system, lacked up in the last resort by the armed might of the military and police.

Thus the primary aim of socialists who seek to replace capitalism, has always been to win control of the state, dismantle as an instrument of capitalist rule through measures aimed at expropriating the corporate plutocrats, and create a new ind of state which governs in the interests the working people.

Is it because of his a priori conviction that social revolution is impossible that a centrist like Gonick does not seem to see the possibilities that already exist to mobilize masses of people in objectively anticapitalist struggles posing the question of workers power? It is not necessary to believe capitalism will collapse of its own accord in order to see major contradictions in the system which are radicalizing large numbers of people. (They need not be insoluble contradictions – Lenin, for example, argued that there are no insoluble contradictions for capitalism, barring the conscious intervention of a revolutionary vanguard party.)

The potential for new revolutionary struggles can be seen clearly in some recent problems, many of them deriving from and reinforced by international crises of the system — Vietnam, the campus explosion, the radicalization of national minorities in the advanced capitalist countries, etc., all of which have given rise to powerful anticapitalist or potentially anticapitalist movements: antiwar, student, women's liberation, Québécois independence. Is there any reason to believe that these forces are incapable of understanding and embracing a generalized alternative to capitalist oppression?

Anticapitalist struggle in this country is not a new phenomenon, in fact. And institutions for fighting the system are ready at hand, forged in previous struggles.

Most important are the trade unions, which mobilize the working class, the key agent of social change, independently of the bosses and in struggle against them. The trade unions are central to socialist strategy in Canada. And they are already organized politically to challenge the system, through their own political party, the NDP.

Gonick fails completely to see the essential revolutionary significance of this institutionalized class conflict. For him the trade unions are part of the (capitalist) power structure itself! Thus, describing the role of the corporation, he states: "At the periphery (of the power structure) are the other great institutional orders, of

which parliament is just one. The others include the mass media, the church, the army, the police, the court, the civil service, the educational system, the **trade union**. Each has its degree of autonomy, but |objectively, the function of **all** of them ultimately the preservation of the trailing social system." (emphasis added)

Many people who don't see the class character and significance of the trade unions and the NDP have turned away from political action in favor of schemes of "organizing the poor" and "community control". These classless concepts enjoy some influence among many Wafflers, and Gonick's paper reflects an adaptation to them. But to turn one's back on the existing working class organizations is a step backward for one who considers himself socialist. Revolutionary socialists see the unions and the NDP as key to the struggle for a socialist Canada.

And because the developing antipitalist struggles among students, women, tenants, farmers, etc. are already orienting to working class politics, they have found their expression in the NDP, more specifically in the Waffle group. Thus the logic of the Waffle development, as it generalizes the experiences of this growing extra-parliamentary opposition, is to transcend reformism in all its forms, and move toward the program of revolutionary socialism.

Accompanying photos:

Cy Gonick, speaking to Toronto rally against energy resources sellout organized September 12 (1970) by the NDP's 'Waffle' caucus

WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE – Workers confront police in Winnipeg, 1919. It started as a fight for union recognition, but the labor movement not only closed down the city in general strike but administered it through the strike committee. Must we conclude, as Cy Gonick maintains, that today's struggles cannot develop this revolutionary dynamic?

labor Challenge #17 oct 1970

'Waffle' runs for party office

Left turn needed for Ontario NDP

by William Dalton

The left "Waffle" caucus of the NDP will challenge the party's establishment by presenting candidates for two key party offices at the October 2-4 Ontario NDP convention.

The Waffle's September 16 meeting nominated Krista Maeots for president and John Smart for provincial secretary of the Ontario NDP.

The meeting however rejected a proposal that it field a candidate in the party's leadership race.

The agenda for the September 16 meeting did not provide for any discussion of the leadership campaign question. However a motion from the floor to reopen the question and discuss it passed by a narrow margin.

Provincial leadership candidates Stephen Lewis and Walter Pitman spoke to the Waffle in two separate sessions of the meeting. Waffle supporters were visibly distressed with the shallowness of both presentations and the obvious lack of any left alternative.

KRISTA MAEOTS Waffle candidate for Ontario NDP president, recently urged the party's federal council to support the demands of the women's liberation movement.

The Ontario Waffle's previous decision not to run a leadership candidate was apparently due in part to illusions of many Waffle activists that Lewis represented some socialist or lesser-evil alternative.

But after the candidates' speeches, two leading members of the national Waffle campaign committee, Jim Laxer and Mel Watkins, told the press they would not support either candidate at the convention.

When discussion on the leadership question was finally reopened at the end of a long day's session, however, they and other prominent Waffle leaders backed a motion by Brett Smiley of Toronto to reaffirm the July decision not to run.

Walter Davis of St. George NDP argued that Lewis' and Pitman's comments made it clear they would not carry a socialist program into the campaign for an NDP government.

Peter Horbatiuk of Beeches-Woodbine pointed out how facts have changed since the July decision not to run, with the entry of Pitman. The Waffle program must be carried by a Waffle candidate or be lost in "the ballyhoo of the Pitman-Lewis campaign."

Mel Watkins replied that even if an error was made in not fielding a candidate, the Waffle could not reverse itself at such a late date without a democratic consultation of all its supporters.

The hour was late and many had left. The meeting voted by a large majority not to run a leadership candidate.

However, the Waffle challenge for provincial secretary and president, and the projected Waffle campaign for the federal leadership, provide opportunities for a firm socialist alternative to be posed to the NDP's present right-wing and reformist leadership.

Convention papers

A 100-page resolutions book for the Ontario New Democratic Party convention has been under discussion

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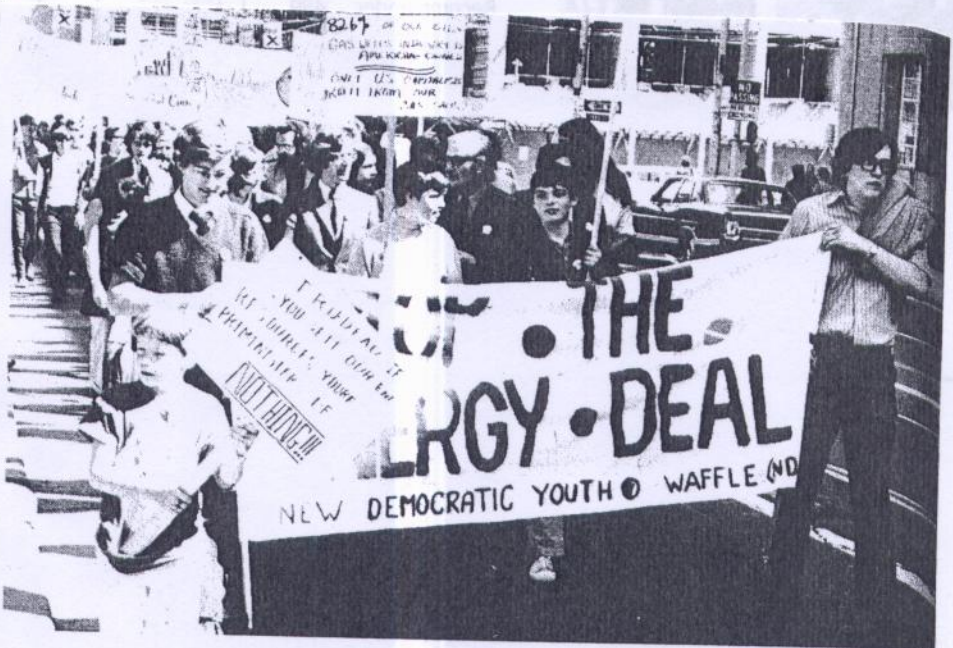

photo by White

PROTEST RESOURCES SELLOUT. rally organized by NDP's Waffle caucus September 12, predicting the just-concluded $2-billion natural gas sellout to U.S. interests. The rally's demand for public ownership of Canadian resources is essential to the NDP's fight against the sellout.

throughout the party since mid-September.

Its publication prior to the convention is an important step towards a more democratic pre-convention policy discussion. And the wealth and diversity of its resolutions reflect a relatively high degree of political discussion in the party's basic organizations.

Reflecting the challenge before the convention itself, the resolutions book is dominated by the "Waffle" caucus' socialist proposals. "For a Socialist Ontario in an Independent Socialist Canada", the Waffle's basic program, outlines clear alternatives on the bulk of the main issues before the convention.

The resolutions book also contains several excellent papers on women introduced by the NDP women's liberation group, as well as Waffle proposals on poverty, housing, education, etc.

labor Challenge #17 Oct 1970

Need labor mayor - Vancouver LSA

VANCOUVER — The League for Socialist Action announced today its intention of fielding a candidate for mayor in the forthcoming Vancouver municipal election if the New Democratic Party does not expand its slate to include a mayoralty candidate.

Vancouver LSA organizer Gary Porter expressed the League's wholehearted support and solidarity with the decision of the Vancouver NDP to enter the December civic election.

"News of the nomination of 11 NDP candidates for positions on the city council, board of education and parks board signifies the entrance of labor candidates against the big business spokesmen and real estate hucksters who dominate city hall," Porter said.

"But to this point there is a grave weakness in the NDP move," he continued. "So far the party has nominated only three aldermanic candidates for the 10 available positions.

"Even more important there is as yet no NDP candidate to challenge millionaire real estate boss Tom Campbell, the present mayor of Vancouver."

Porter pointed out that the selection of more aldermanic candidates and the fielding of a mayoralty candidate is indispensible for the NDP to meet its obligation to the working people of this city — by fielding a serious and effective challenge to big-business domination of city hall.

"A mayoralty candidate transforms what is at present merely a list into a labor slate. It poses the need not only for new individuals in city hall but for its complete transformation into an instrument of the working people to meet their needs."

Porter explained that there was good reason to believe prominent elements in the NDP to be considering abstention from the mayoralty race. He referred to a report in the Vancouver Sun of September 21 which attributed to Roy Lowther, head of the NDP's municipal nominating commission, the statement that the NDP may not select a mayoralty candidate. "We may just choose to endorse someone else's candidate," Lowther was alleged to have said.

This report is all the more disquieting, Porter continued, in that the NDP has indeed failed to field mayoralty candidates to back up its slate in several key civic contests in the past year. This led to the LSA running candidates for mayor in Ottawa and Toronto last year to round out the labor slate.

"The election is drawing very near. What is required is a repudiation of the statement attributed to Lowther, and a clear and immediate commitment from responsible officers of the NDP that a party candidate will be put forward.

"If the NDP fails to respond," Porter concluded, "we in the League will be obliged to pose the labor and socialist alternative in the mayoralty election."

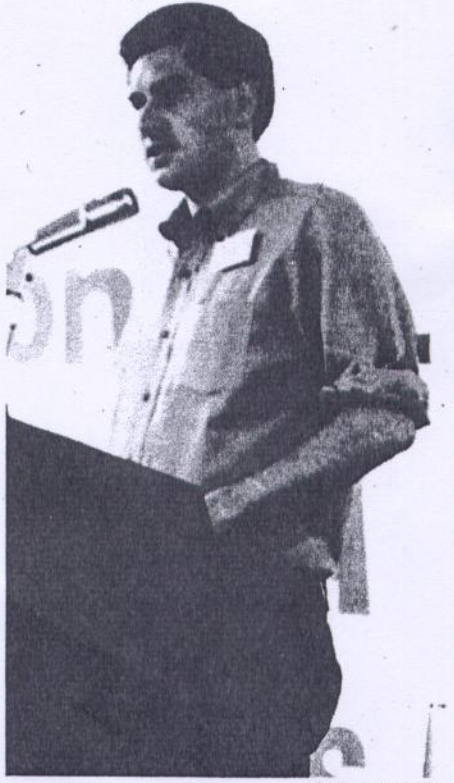

photo by Mintz

GARY PORTER. Vancouver LSA organizer.

labor Challenge #17 Oct. 1970

Vancouver Women's Alliance backs abortion law victims

by Kate Porter

VANCOUVER — Members of the newly formed Vancouver Women's Liberation Alliance have rallied to the defense of Dr. Robert Makaroff, charged with performing illegal abortions.

The Alliance organized a picket line at the scene of Dr. Makaroff's trial, and a candlelight march when he was finally sentenced. He was sentenced to two months in jail and $15,000 in fines.

The Makaroff case has a particular significance for the fight by Vancouver women for the right to free abortions on demand.

For many months Vancouver papers have been asserting that the right to abortion already exists in Vancouver. But while it is true that the Therapeu Abortion Committees in Vancouv hospitals now approve abortions eve week, they meet the needs of only a sm fraction of the number of women in t Vancouver area who need and se abortion.

Many applicants, in fact, are turne away by the Boards, and the process acquiring a legal abortion in this city, eve when successful, is a frightening an humiliating experience for a woma desperate because of unwante pregnancy.

The case of Dr. Makaroff only highligh what Vancouver women already know we — that the fight for this most basic right all women has only begun.

The Women's Liberation Alliance presently meeting weekly to plan program of demonstrations, meetings an other activities for the fall. A organizational conference combined wit a public meeting is planned for earl November.

The Alliance was founded by opponent of recent expulsions in the Vancouver Women's Caucus. Following the exclusion of members of the League for Socialis Action and Young Socialists from the Caucus, LSA and YS women and others i the caucus who supported the idea of a non-exclusionist women's movement joined to launch the Alliance. It is open to all women interested in learning about and fighting, their own oppression and the oppression of all women in society.

Native youth discuss racism in education

Native youth from across Canada are being invited to a conference on Native education to be held in Edmonton October 10 and 11.

Theme of the conference, sponsored by the Native Youth Alliance for Liberation, is "Politics, Racism and Education".

The Alliance has appealed for financial assistance from friends of the Native movement to cover the considerable costs of the conference.

Inquiries and cheques can be sent to the Alliance headquarters at 10057 Jasper Ave., Edmonton, Alta.

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MANON LEGER, socialist candidate for Montreal mayoralty.

Leger hits at key issues in Montreal vote

MONTREAL — French must be the sole official language of the civic administration, the school system and industry and commerce in Montreal, socialist mayoralty candidate Manon Leger told the Forum Socialiste here September 25.

The demand for French unilingualism at the municipal level, pointing the way to a defense of the language through an independent socialist Quebec, is the main thrust of her campaign as candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Leger said.

Other demands include equal pay for women and an end to discrimination in hiring and working conditions for women in the civic administration; civic-operated day care centers and abortion clinics; and stiff anti-pollution measures against the big business corporations backed by sanctions including public ownership.

Leger condemned Mayor Drapeau's decision to close his special conference on pollution to the press and public on the grounds that "pollution involves special situations and private interests."

Manon Leger explained that her nomination by the LSO, supported by the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, is in the framework of filling out the slate of candidates presented by the labor-oriented Front d'Action Politique (FRAP).

FRAP has nominated 27 candidates for the civic government with more to come.

The Leger campaign has received extensive publicity on TV, radio and four of the six daily newspapers.

A feature of the campaign will be a tour by Leger of campuses, CEGEPs (junior colleges) and high schools between now and polling day October 26.

labor Challenge #17 Oct 1970

Socialist youth rally Prairies' biggest ever

by Howard Brown

It was not just one of the largest, but also without question the most productive socialist youth conference the Prairies had ever seen.

And when the September 18-20 Young Socialists conference in Saskatoon drew to a close, major antiwar and women's liberation projects had been launched, and a clear strategy worked out for the work of socialists on Prairie campuses this year.

An audience of close to 200 packed an enthusiastic first session to hear French revolutionary leader Alain Krivine speak on the significance of the world-wide youth revolt. Over 100 students and young workers from Edmonton, Lethbridge, Saskatoon, Regina, Brandon and Winnipeg stayed to participate in the three days of debates and workshops.

In its wide representation of student activists, its ambitious agenda and wide-open discussion, the conference resembled student gatherings previously organized in the west by the New Democratic Youth or the Canadian Union of Students.

But in concentrating on clarifying differing views, zeroing in on concrete proposals, and uniting to carry them out, the conference set a new tone in Prairie student gatherings.

The conference registered the rapid growth of the Young Socialists on the Prairies over the past year. From an isolated group in Edmonton the YS has expanded to four established and active centers, with other groups soon to be organized.

The session on women's liberation was a highpoint of the discussions. It issued the call for a conference of all western women's liberation groups and activists, to be held in Saskatoon in the early winter.

Discussions on the Vietnam war led to the decision to organize antiwar mobilizations in all major Prairie centers on October 31.

The first day's session included a discussion of the defense of the "Regina 12", students arrested for their activities in opposition to the Vietnam war.

Later the conference heard Manon Leger, 23-year-old candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere for mayor of Montreal, describe the growing movement for an independent socialist Quebec.

The main strategical theme of the conference was presented by Richard Thompson of the Saskatoon YS. He described the strategy of the "red university", which projects how student actions can transform the campus into a base for revolutionary social action.

photo by White

HOWARD BROWN

Thompson, who before joining the YS was a prominent figure in the new left circles and the now defunct Canadian Union of Students, explained how the new left student leaderships had shown their limitations in the struggles of the past two years.

The student movement has fluctuated between purely reformist strategies and ultraleft actions which isolate revolutionary students. The alternative, he said, is building mass student struggles around a patiently and flexibly applied transitional program.

Howard Brown of the Saskatoon YS elaborated on the crisis of the New Left: "Its basic dilemma was its failure to overcome the spontaneity which had produced it." The failure of the new left to commit itself to building a revolutionary Leninist party is its decisive error. "Only such a party is capable of the tremendous task of strategical co-ordination involved in a socialist revolution," Brown said.

The discussion on "Red Power in Canada," led by Jeff Choy-Hee of the Edmonton-based Native Youth Alliance for Liberation, centered on the demands that the government uphold all treaty and aboriginal rights granted the native people, and respect the right of the native people to determine their own life.

The concluding report to the conference, by Jacquie Henderson, executive secretary of the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, emphasized the magnitude of the task of socialist education on the campuses, and the key role of the socialist press in carrying out this task.

Reports from Young Socialist locals reflected the bright future of revolutionary socialist youth in the west. All YS locals are in a good position to intervene energetically on the campuses, to move towards transforming them into the socialist strongholds projected by the "red university" strategy.

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Western women's conference

SASKATOON, September 20—A workshop of women's liberation activists here has called a western Canada women's liberation conference to be held in the early winter.

The conference, to be held in Saskatoon, will be the first of its kind in Canada, and aims to help unite the growing women's liberation movement in the west.

The call came from a special women's liberation session, of the prairie Socialist Students Conference held here this weekend. The women's session, co-sponsored with the Saskatoon-based Radical Women's Caucus, was the highpoint of the three day conference.

The session heard presentations from Mary Trew of the newly formed Vancouver Women's Liberation Alliance and Barb Taylor of the Radical Women's Caucus. Taylor emphasized, "Our analysis must now become the basis of our strategy, not a rationale for our existence. Many of us still divide our work in women's liberation from our work in other sectors of the movement — the labor movement, the Waffle, the antiwar movement. We can no longer do this.

"As revolutionaries and as women our commitment to the struggle of women must be carried into all other activities and shape them."

Velvet Fist new, attractive women's liberation monthly

by Lis Angus

The Velvet Fist, an exciting new monthly women's liberation paper launched by the Toronto Women's Caucus, is an attractive eight-page tabloid of news reports, topical articles, poetry and art work.

The September issue features a report on the August 26 women's demonstrations across North America, which showed "how far we have come and the possibilities of the future." The report stresses the broad participation in these actions and their significance for the growing struggle for women's liberation.

Included is a report of the highly successful speakout sponsored by the Toronto Women's Caucus on that day, which drew a crowd of a thousand at City Hall square.

Other articles cover such topics as the restrictions of sex roles in our society, television as a medium to reinforce women's oppressed position, a speech by a British women's liberation activist in Toronto, women's liberation in the high schools, and women's right to abortion. Interspersed throughout the issue are poems, drawings and photographs.

Single copies sell for 25¢; subscriptions for five issues are available for $1.00. Bundles may be ordered at 15¢ a copy on consignment. Bundle orders for the October issue should be sent in promptly. The address of The Velvet Fist is P.O. Box 8, Station F, Toronto 5.

labor Challenge #17 Oct 1970

Goal: 1500 new readers!

by Peter Sharpe

Canada-wide Sub Drive Coordinator

We're two weeks into our "fall offensive" for 1500 new Labor Challenge subscriptions, and reports from across the country indicate a fast and promising start.

A total of 166 new subscriptions have already arrived at our office; many more are on the way.

It's clear from all reports that increasing numbers find the Labor Challenge essential to keep abreast of the mounting movements for social change.

Six subscriptions were sold at one NDP riding meeting in Toronto. Campus literature tables have sold a high proportion of new subscriptions.

According to Laura Thomas in Toronto, the rise of student radicalism has made even teachers receptive to Labor Challenge. She's sold three subs to history teachers in her school, Bloor Collegiate. "I just pointed out how much time it would save them when they're preparing their Grade 12 course on revolutionary movements — that did the trick."

Jeff White went to the UAW picket line at Oshawa. "It was a chill September morning," he tells us, and many of the strikers had built wood fires to keep warm. But they were glad to see supporters of the strike out on their line. The Labor Challenge strike coverage got a good response.

"We explained our special offer for strikers — a $1.00 sub for 50¢. There were about 35 men on the lines that morning and eight of them bought subs. We're going again. . ."

Sylvia Kitching was with him, and went on to tell us the fine points of selling to cops. "We got the cops a bit upset about us selling a radical paper to the strikers. They phoned their HQ to ask for instructions.

"'Get a few copies and bring them over', they were told. At 15¢ a copy, I did a roaring business."

The test of a newspaper is its readership — join us to make sure that Labor Challenge is read regularly by a hefty number of new subscribers. And tell us how you went about it — we'll exchange experiences in this column next issue!

photo by White

1970 Subscription Drive

Toronto	500	Fredericton	25
Vancouver	300	London	25
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Ottawa's aid to U.S. war industry

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labor Challenge

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Hoist prices, block unions, says Trudeau spokesman

by Mark Gans

First prize this week for contributing most to inflation goes to, of all people, Prices and Incomes Commission chairman John Young — the government's very own inflation fighter.

Young made food price increases a virtual certainty when he flatly declared that wage gains won this month by supermarket clerks would "obviously" be passed on to consumers by the food stores.

His statement showed that the Commission has become in effect a licensing agency for virtually unlimited price increases.

What prompted Young's statement was the smashing of his precious 6 percent guidelines by the supermarket workers who won an average yearly wage increase of 11 percent.

The average woman grocery store worker, if she's in the union — now earns about $108 a week before taxes. The new contract will give her $27 a week more, gross, over a two-year period.

Wages for men (in keeping with the government's "equal pay law") will remain $20 a week higher.

In his bitter attack on the grocery clerks, Young implied that the major food chains should have locked out the workers rather than accede to the demands of the three unions which negotiated on their behalf. Coming from Young, the proposal is not surprising. He's on record as regarding the $2 an hour worker as relatively well paid," despite the fact that the wage is 20 percent below the poverty line drawn by the

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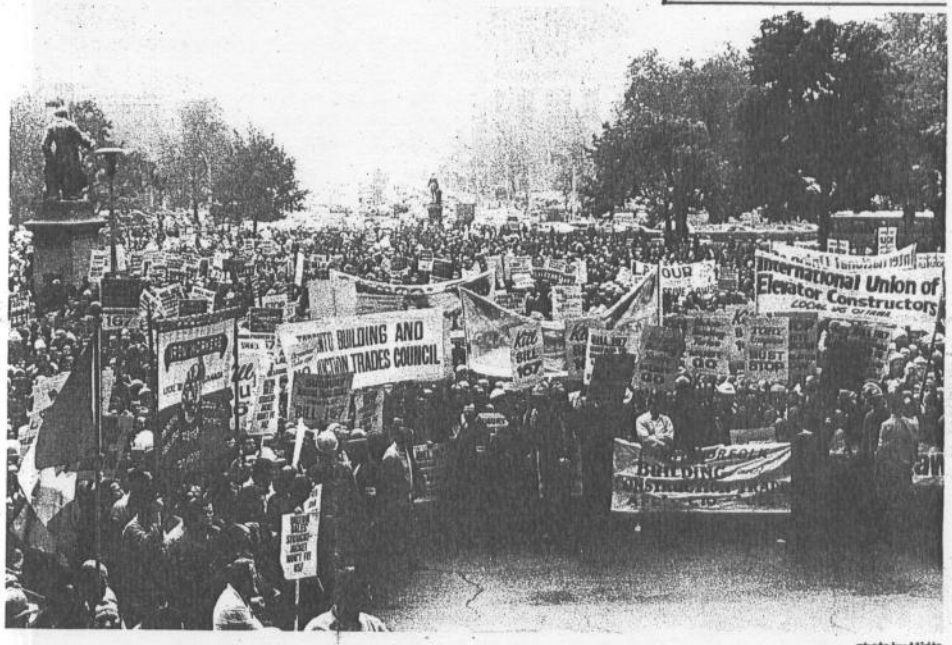

photo by Alritz

20,000 'hardhats' blast Ont. antilabor bill

Close to 20,000 building trades workers shut down the Ontario construction industry and massed at Queens Park October 14 to protest anti-labor legislation the Tory government has introduced. The bill, which follows Rand commission proposals, would hinder certification of construction unions, outlaw wildcats and interfere with the internal functioning of the unions. The militant rally booed Tory and Liberal speakers and lustily cheered the message of solidarity from NDP leader Stephen Lewis.

Why Quebecois support FLQ demands

"The real responsibility for the kidnappings of James Cross and Pierre Laporte lies not with those who committed them, but with the monopolists, the exploiters who are repressing the Quebec nationalist movement," says Manon Léger, socialist candidate for mayor of Montreal, in statements issued on behalf of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Quebec Trotskyist movement.

Explaining that the LSO does not support terrorist actions and regards them as a blow to the cause of socialism, Léger has sharply attacked the FLQ's methods.

The LSO leader slammed the repressive

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ployment, poverty, the constant violation of their most elementary rights, including the right to work in one's own language.

Only when control over the factories, the resources, the schools has been given back to the Quebecois will there be an end to violence in Quebec.

"The real initiators of violence in this system," says Manon Léger, are revealed in "the criminal conduct of the ruling class in their support of the genocide of the Vietnamese people, and in their no less hidden support for the recent bombings of the Palestinian refugee camps."

The present rulers of Quebec are guilty of mass violence in their opposition to the entirely legitimate movement for national rights of the Québécois.

"When thousands of Québécois demonstrated in support of their legitimate national rights, what was the response of the governing circles?" the

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measures being invoked on a wide scale against the entire Quebec left by the authorities in the wake of the kidnappings. Hundreds of persons have been arrested and held without charges for hours, even days.

The offices of FRAP, the trade union-supported political party that is running for office in the civic elections, have been raided repeatedly — as much as three times in one day. Robert Lemieux, the lawyer who has defended many of Quebec's political prisoners, was held incommunicado for over a day without charges and his confidential files have been seized by the police.

Prime Minister Trudeau, trying to defend the unprecedented mobilization of the army in both Quebec and Ottawa, sounds curiously like a Canadian version of Spiro Agnew. "It's only weak-kneed bleeding hearts who aren't prepared to take these methods," he insisted. "It's more important to keep law and order in society, than to be worried about weak-kneed people who don't like the looks of an army."

The capitalist politicians and their hirelings in the mass media treat the problem as one of "law and order."

But the roots of the current crisis lie in the national oppression of the Quebecois people — the violence that is visited upon them every day, every hour by capitalist system in the form of unemployment, poverty, the constant violation of their most elementary rights, including the right to work in one's own language.

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... Quebec kidnappings

Continued from page 1

LSO asks. "After McGill Francais, after Bill 63, haven't Bourassa and Co. shown their violence?"

"They are trying to use the kidnappings as a pretext to blame their own violence on the FLQers," Leger charged. Only three months ago, the Quebec National Assembly passed a bill, ostensibly to control dynamite, that allows police to raid any premises without a warrant.

Last year, the Drapeau administration rammed through a bylaw giving the city's executive committee the power to ban any and all demonstrations in advance — later ruled unconstitutional by the courts. How can these capitalist politicians pose as defenders of democracy?

Invoking the kidnappings, Drapeau has cancelled all his election appearances, and has suggested that all who support revolutionary change in Quebec should be suppressed. "Is Drapeau putting in question the very legitimacy of the socialist mayoralty campaign?" Leger asks. "My candidature speaks to the needs of the mass of the Montreal population. What I propose is the overthrow of the present bourgeois administration by a democratic administration responsive to the working masses. Does this mean that Mr. Drapeau will send his police on illegal searches at my place, as he has permitted among so many Quebecois whom he 'suspects of being revolutionary'?"

"The terrorist acts of the FLQ flow from the impatience, the frustration and the despair provoked by the actions of Drapeau and Co."

"Although I do not believe in the methods of the FLQ, we must recognize that the violence of this society gives rise to such terrorist acts. . .

"To overthrow the system, it is not a question of kidnapping someone or threatening him with death; the ruling class can always find another man. . .It will only be done through the intervention of the Quebec masses, conscious of the necessity to do away with capitalism.

"We of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the LSO are using the civic elections in that sense as a means to acquaint the mass of the population with the socialist program.

"STOP THE REPRESSION!

"FREE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!"

labor Challenge #18 Oct 1970

Drive at halfway point: report good response

by Peter Sharpe

Canada-wide Sub Drive Coordinator

The drive for 1,500 new readers to Labor Challenge by Nov. 15 is now half over. By Oct. 9, we had received 500 new subscriptions — almost, but not quite, where we should be at this stage.

Toronto heads the list with 250 subs — over half their quota. In the first few weeks of the drive our supporters gained their new readers at women's liberation meetings, union meetings, antiwar conferences and at the NDP convention where 250 single copies of Labor Challenge were sold in addition to 21 subs.

Phase two of the Toronto campaign calls for a door-to-door blitz on Saturday mornings and Monday and Thursday nights.

A blitz by several supporters at the University of Toronto residence where students have been on a rent strike (see last issue) netted 22 new subscriptions in just half the building!

In the first week of this tactic, Toronto sent in 75 subs from these door-to-door blitzes alone.

Vancouver has been very successful, with almost half their quota in already. Most of their 127 new readers came from a two week blitz of campus dormitories. Their next phase of the sub drive is aimed at the antiwar demonstration on Oct. 31 and at NDP supporters in the civic election campaign.

From Fredericton: "Sales of Labor Challenge have been going very well (must better than we'd expected). Please double our bundle!"

London: "Would you commence sending us a regular bundle of LC to sell."

We have similar success stories from across Canada.

Brenda, a Toronto supporter who had never canvassed door-to-door before, went out last Saturday and sold nine subscriptions in just over one hour — including three in one house!

Another reader comments: "It was really easy to sell. Three of us went door-to-door, and in two hours sold 11 subs, all to women."

Do you want to help? If so, write Labor Challenge, Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1. We will send you a kit containing copies of the paper, sub blanks and a note on how to sell subscriptions.

Our next deadline is Oct. 26. Send those subs in and we'll put you on the scoreboard.

Remember — 1,500 new readers by November 15. We've still a long way to go.

AREA	QUOTA	NEW SUBS	%
Beaver Harbor, N.B.	5	5	100
Toronto	500	252	50
Vancouver	300	127	42
Sudbury	5	2	40
Hamilton	50	15	30
Edmonton	75	21	28
Montreal	25	6	24
St. Catharines	50	12	24
Kitchener	50	11	22
Richmond Hill	15	3	20
Winnipeg	50	10	20
Fredericton	25	4	16
London	25	4	16
Ottawa	100	6	6
Saskatoon	35	2	6
Orillia	25	0	0
Halifax	10	0	0
Brandon	5	0	0
General	150	32	21
GOAL	1500	512	34%

labor Challenge

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VMC backs GM strikers; hits profiteers

"The Vietnam Mobilization Committee declares its solidarity with the auto workers in their fight with General Motors," declared VMC executive secretary George Addison Sept. 29. "And we intend to build such solidarity as a major theme of the upcoming mass antiwar protests centered on Oct. 31," he added.

The antiwar committee statement says:

"General Motors is one of the top 10 war producers, making super-profits from the tremendous destruction in Southeast Asia. But while GM makes these war profits from the deaths of countless thousands of Asians and Americans, GM employees are paying the costs of the war through inflation, unemployment and higher taxes.

"The GM workers have clearly shown that they are not prepared to make sacrifices in their standard of living for a war which is not in their interests. The United Auto Workers have declared their opposition to the war in the past, and today are defending their interests against skyrocketing prices caused by the war.

"General Motors must open its books to show the real profits it is making from the war in Indochina. GM must accept the legitimate demands of the UAW for cost of living allowance, pension and wage increases."

'We speak for women, youth, workers'

labor Challenge
#18 Oct 1970

The following is the text of an interview with Manon Léger that appeared in the mass-circulation Montreal weekly Le Petit Journal, Oct. 11. Although Leger's explanation of her program has obviously been very abbreviated by the interviewer in her desire to "popularize" this personality sketch, the interview indicates the impact the LSO campaign is having in the mass media.

by Hermine Beauregard

She doesn't have a countryhouse at Sorel, and I am sure she has never set foot in the Vaisseau d'Or (Mayor Drapeau's swank restaurant). However she is in politics up to her neck.

The floors of her offices are not covered with wall-to-wall carpets and it's no luxurious elevator which takes you there. You climb the well-worn wooden steps of 226 East Ste. Catherine St. and on the second floor, in a vast headquarters which could be a warehouse, you can meet her and discuss with her. Things being what they are and her election fund being non-existent, it would be surprising if Manon Léger became the next "Monsieur le Maire" (His Worship the Mayor) of Montreal.

However, democracy takes its course and Manon Léger, candidate for the mayoralty of Montreal, will try to dislodge Mayor Drapeau from the post he has held for ten years. Many will smile and ask what this pretty 20-year-old girl is doing in that company. Well, Manon Léger knows perfectly well why she is running: she wants to represent the rights of young workers. Personally, I think she knows more about politics than many of our councillors and other politicians.

That said, why is Manon Léger running? Quite simply because she wants to change something in the present system and its injustices. Of average height, with long black hair, and a thin face that suggests a strong will, Manon Léger received us in the headquarters of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, of which she is chairwoman. She hasn't given in to the midi style; it's in a leather mini-skirt and sweater that she campaigns and explains to us the big issues.

But who is this girl and where does she come from? For up to now, the female brood in Quebec has seemed to prefer seeking refuge behind casseroles to mounting the podium, if you make exception for the madams Casgrains.

Manon Léger was born in Saint-Hyacinthe, in a modest family. Her father, who was a factory worker, died three weeks ago; her mother died several years ago; she is alone in life with Louise, a younger sister.

MANON LEGER, socialist mayoralty candidate in Montreal.

How did she come to politics? After having followed a course in commercial art, she couldn't find appropriate work in her home town. For two years she worked as an office clerk, then she "emigrated" to Montreal, where she immediately became interested in the activities of a group of young socialists. She is now chairwoman of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, for which she works full time.

Perhaps you heard or saw her name during the last provincial election. She was the socialist candidate in Dorion riding. She agrees with almost all the objectives of FRAP and thinks it is unfortunate that this group has not run a prestigious candidate against Mayor Drapeau. Her whole campaign will be based on two themes of burning importance: the problem of the French language in Quebec and that of independence, which the Ligue Socialiste considers indispensable to improving the lot of the Québécois.

"I am a candidate because I believe, like my comrades, that the Quebec woman should finally be represented in the governments at whatever level," Manon Léger told me.

"I am going to concentrate my efforts among young workers and students. Since those 18 years and older have the right to vote, we are going to carry the greater part of our campaign on the university and CEGEP campuses. We will distribute leaflets at factory gates and subway entrances. Our intervention will be of a somewhat educational character. We are not an organization that believes in violence. On the other hand, a party like the Parti Quebecois appears to us as a bourgeois and compromising party. We have scarcely a hundred members, but they are convinced. We are linked to the pan-Canadian socialist movement and affiliated to socialist movements in other countries."

Manon Leger and her comrades don't seem to find many rivals in the world of Quebec politics. "We are a vanguard movement ... We simply want to participate in the workers struggle and defend young workers who are the most oppressed by the system."

Manon Léger, the mayoralty candidate, is almost an anti-star. If she wants to be a leading woman politician, it is not by being ogled; on her young face which bears not a trace of makeup you can read a fierce determination. The world of baubles and lace ruffles doesn't interest her. Her personal life, her tastes, her hobbies have no importance. Her whole life is determined by her ideal. She is self-taught, she reads, informs herself and participates in important conferences.

And what did her father say when he saw his daughter launched into this jungle? He approved, for he was a man who knew the life and agony of a factory worker...

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labor Challenge

#18 Oct 1970

Waffle goes 'respectable'

New radical mood at Ont. NDP rally

by John Riddell

"I see no corporate presidents here, no stock brokers. . .

"I see trade unionists, farmers, students, housewives, teachers. . .

"We are the people of Ontario. Who dares say we do not understand them, that we do not speak for them?"

So Stephen Lewis, about to be elected leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party, voiced the spirit of well over 2,000 participants in the party's convention held October 2 - 4 in Toronto.

The Lewis-Pitman leadership contest drizzled to a drab finale; to the very end there was no discernible policy difference between the two.

It was the huge crowd of 2,173 delegates and alternates — more than half again as many as at any previous Ontario party convention — who set the radical tone and maintained the atmosphere of enthusiasm and excitement through three days of debates.

A glance at any group of delegates was enough to show the difference from any Liberal or Tory convention. The crowd was overwhelmingly youthful; perhaps a third were women; the large bulk was working class.

Affiliated trade union locals sent 830 delegates — more than twice the number present at the previous NDP convention. And far from letting themselves be manipulated by the sodden conservatism of their leaders, the labor contingent entered fully into the convention's radical mood.

Highlight of the convention was its firm response to the Trudeau government's sellout of natural gas resources to U.S. interests. On Friday the convention rejected by overwhelming vote a provincial council motion on energy resources because it did not advocate public ownership.

The strengthened resolution adopted nearly unanimously on Sunday called for nationalization of all energy resource industries, and instructed the party to organize a massive public protest campaign against the natural gas deal.

Women's liberationists organized at the convention and strongly influenced its course.

A proposal to cut across the blatant discrimination against women in the party leadership by guaranteeing women a third of the seats on the provincial executive was defeated after heated debate.

But the rest of a far-reaching program for women's liberation was nearly unanimously adopted. The party program now includes demands for free abortions on demand, provision of day-care centers at work and in the community as a free public service under workers or community control, houseworkers allowances, maternity leave with full pay of three months plus additional six-months leave without pay, and far-reaching measures against sex discrimination in employment, pay or education.

The passing of these and other radical resolutions reflected the substantial gains at the convention of the left-wing "Waffle" caucus. Its general manifesto "For a

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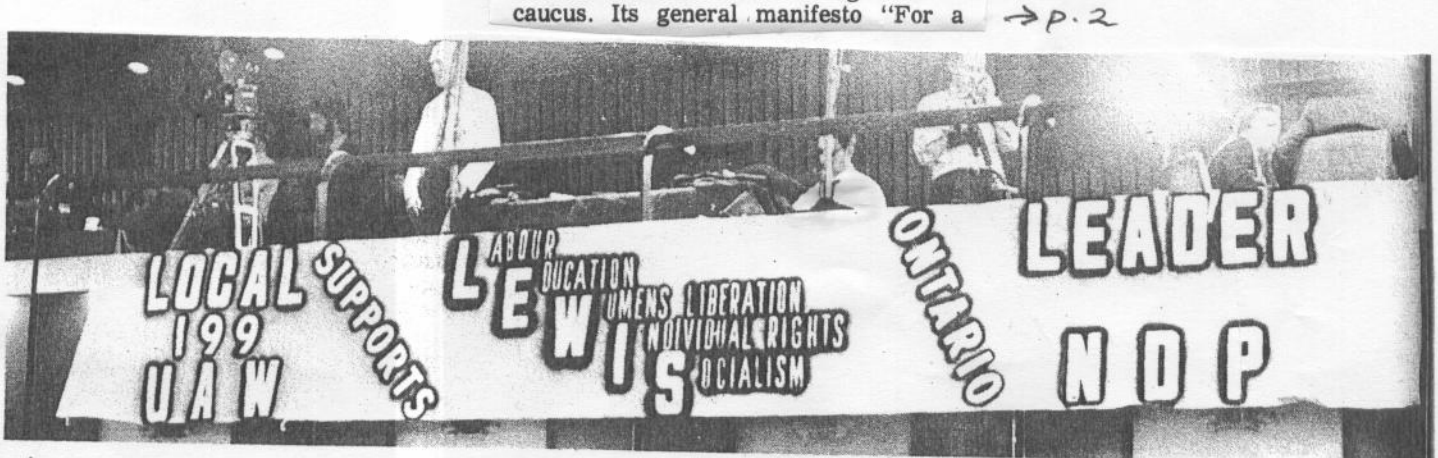

THEMES of Ontario NDP convention are spelled out in banner of an autoworkers local. photo by Fidler

photo by Wh

ONTARIO NDP CONVENTION. Stephen Lewis (at center) addresses delegat shortly before election as party leader.

Socialist Ontario. . ." secured a vote of 46 percent in a written ballot. Its candidates for provincial secretary and president won a third of the vote, while it elected four to the provincial executive (two of whom led the poll).

An enthusiastic optimism pervaded all sessions. When delegates hailed Stephen Lewis as "Ontario's next premier" they voiced their conviction that they represented a new wave of popular struggles and discontent which can sweep the NDP into power.

But what would an NDP government mean to Ontario workers? Despite radical resolutions, this question was hardly posed at the convention, let alone answered.

Federal leader T.C. Douglas entertained the convention with a story of a Canadian hijacker who ordered the pilot, "Take me to Castro's Cuba." The pilot replied, "Would you settle for Schreyer's Manitoba?" The laughter was deafening.

But didn't Douglas's pilot pose a relevant question?

The convention's mood was militant anti-imperialism — for a settling of counts with U.S. corporations in Cana

But U.S. capital is still a welcome gu in "Schreyer's Manitoba," where an N government, while legislating import reforms, has carefully avoided any cl challenge to the province's big busine rulers.

The growth and popularity of the Waf caucus expresses a wide dissatisfaction the party with its leadership's program band-aid reforms to a mortally capitalism, and a wide desire for the par to fight year-round for a new, socia society.

But despite the articulateness of t Waffle's leaders and its strength at t convention, this alternative was nev clearly posed.

Stephen Lewis's victory was due in lar part to his greater success in the co petition for left-sounding phrases a militant poses. But the identity of Pitm Lewis politics and their common rejecti of the Waffle's socialist proposals w

See pag

. . . Ont. NDP convention

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openly revealed at the convention.

A Waffle leadership candidate, even entered at the last moment, could have utilized a unique opportunity to educate the party about the right-wing character of the entire leadership establishment reflected in the Lewis-Pitman race.

But the Waffle played no role in the contest, and it was left to Douglas Campbell, a socialist without backing in the party and with a confused position, to enter the race and expose Lewis-Pitman — crudely but with considerable impact.

No doubt about it — the Waffle waffled. Its key resolution, For a Socialist Ontario in an Independent Socialist Canada, contained considerable excellent analysis from a socialist point of view. It refrained however on the whole from presenting concrete demands which could clarify the socialist alternative to the party and the general public.

On the key issue around which the Waffle was built — the need to nationalize the commanding heights of the economy — the resolution was carefully ambiguous. Public ownership was praised as a means of democratic control, a means of creating jobs — but no more. Repatriation of the economy was stated to require, among other things, nationalization of large corporations. (how many — two?)

But as ONDP president Gordon Vichert pointed out in the floor debate, this does not go one inch further than the established public positions of the party leadership. He then congratulated the Waffle as "new people who have finally discovered what the party has been about all along."

One right-wing delegate was able, after denouncing the resolution as "infantile leftism," to attack it from the left, claiming it did not attack domestic capitalism and did not call for any specific nationalizations.

Contributions by Watkins and other Waffle leaders evaded the nationalization question and did nothing to head off these hypocritical attacks.

Did the Waffle leaders decide to play for votes rather than seek to educate the party? Certainly they did little to clear away the near-universal confusion on the meaning of the Waffle resolution — a confusion that would have robbed it of impact even if it had been adopted.

The convention reflected a party growing and moving to the left, but did little to change the leadership's right-wing course.

At his post-convention press conference, Lewis was already "re-interpreting" the energy resources resolution in the direction of ditching the party's commitment to nationalize the giant gas and oil companies. And nothing has yet been heard of the "immediate massive campaign" against the natural gas deal with the U.S.

At the same time party leaders congratulated themselves publicly on having won the Waffle from its previous "extreme" positions and having sucked it into the (right-wing) mainstream of the party.

It will take a major struggle for the party's left to secure implementation of the convention's radical decisions. At the same time, they must work to ensure a more effective challenge at next spring's federal convention — beginning with a strong socialist campaign for the federal leadership.

labor Challenge #18 Oct 1970

LSA names Vancouver civic slate

VANCOUVER, Oct. 9 — The League for Socialist Action announced at a public meeting tonight that it has nominated Gary Porter, 25, a full-time LSA organizer, for mayor of Vancouver.

The LSA also announced it would run two candidates for alderman — Kate Porter, a postal worker, and Mary Trew, a leading Young Socialist and women's liberation activist.

The LSA candidatures are presented in the framework of supporting and rounding out the campaign of the five NDP nominees for alderman, to make credible the concept of a labor government at city hall.

Gary Porter told the meeting that the LSA had entered the election because "big business must be opposed by labor and socialist candidates at every level (of government)." City council, which deals with such important questions for working people as housing, education, public transit, pollution and police, "is dominated by men backed by the Liberal, Tory and Social Credit machines — men who speak not to the needs of the working people, but to the needs of business, real estate and profit.

"We see in this election a precious opportunity to speak to hundreds of thousands of working people, women, students and those opposed to the war — and to show them how a socialist program meets their needs and poses the possibility of solving their problems. We also see in this campaign the opportunity to show the NDP and the trade unions that it is urgently necessary and very possible to pose a direct challenge for the highest civic office."

GARY PORTER. Vancouver mayoralty candidate.

The LSA decided to present a mayoralty candidate after failure of the NDP to clarify its position on contesting the mayoralty. If the NDP should decide to present its own candidate, the LSA will withdraw its candidature, Porter declared.

The NDP is running five candidates for alderman — half the positions open. The left-oriented Committee of Progressive Electors, which is supported by the Communist party, is also running several candidates for alderman. Porter said the LSA had written to COPE, noting that the Vancouver Labor Council was not running in the two seats COPE had offered to leave open for it. He suggested that if COPE was seriously interested in left solidarity against the business candidates, and making the campaign a true reflection of the diversity of forces in the left, COPE would not run for the two seats contested by the LSA.

Campaign manager Martha Ellis declared "We aim to publish tens of thousands of leaflets, thousands of posters. We will be at all the meetings, on the campuses, in the high schools, at union meetings — everywhere. Our program will reflect the real needs of the people of this city. It will be a program of action to kick big business out of City Hall."

labor Challenge #18 Oct. 1970

Debate in B.C. section:

What role for labor in NDP

VANCOUVER — A recent meeting of the New Democratic Party provincial council here saw the ongoing debate in B.C. over the labor character of the party raised once more — but this time on a new, more constructive level.

The discussion oriented around a document which brings into the open a longstanding feud between two factions in the right wing of the provincial NDP. A section of the party leadership centered in the bureaucracy of the B.C. Federation of Labor has been at loggerheads with provincial NDP leader Dave Barrett and the legislative caucus, who in turn are supported by old-time constituency activists with a long history in the NDP's predecessor, the CCF.

Up to now, neither side has expressed any principled differences, contenting themselves with bureaucratic organizational maneuvers against each other. But recent developments have brought to a focus conflicting pressures within the party.

With the growth of unemployment and widespread antilabor legislation, the trade unions find the going tougher, the strikes longer and harder to win. They need the NDP more than ever.

But Barrett and the other MLAs respond less and less; they are embarrassed by labor's struggles which are so unpopular with big business daily editors.

This summer, supporters of the B.C. Federation of Labor published a documents, Towards Democracy. It strongly criticizes the alienation of the legislative caucus from party control. It attacks caucus secrecy, its failure to communicate with the party executive which has been more responsive to the labor brass. The document points to frequent caucus violation of party policy in public statements.

They cite, for example, a statement by Barrett this summer during the construction strike in which he posed the NDP as some kind of impartial arbiter between labor and the bosses.

The B.C. Fed document goes on to make some far-reaching generalizations. It characterizes the NDP as an instrument to transfer power from capital to the mass of the people. It states "that the NDP must fight vigorously on the side of groups challenging the power and institutions of capital," not "provide fair ground rules to ensure an equal chance for both sides."

The document attacks the policy of representing the NDP as simply "a more intelligent, efficient and humane administrator of a slightly modified and more just system." This, it says, alienates the young and the poor.

The authors of Towards Democracy conclude with a call for more rank and file participation in policy formation.

This document was placed before the August meeting of the provincial council which unanimously agreed to call a special meeting of the council in September to discuss the document in detail. Copies of the document were circulated to constituencies for discussion prior to the September council meeting.

DAVE BARRETT. B.C. NDP leader under attack.

The left-wing "Waffle" group entered the debate at the council meeting with its own document, Beyond the Old Politics and the Old Political Battles. The Waffle statement welcomes the B.C. Fed contribution "for its frank description of internal problems and for the potential examination it opens up. But," says the Waffle group, "we do not believe it provides any solutions."

The key weakness of Towards Democracy, the Waffle notes, is its failure to spell out a program capable of making the NDP a vital instrument for socialism:

"In terms of their conception of the New Democratic Party, there is no fundamental difference between the authors of the statement and those they are criticizing. Both treat socialist politics exclusively as electoral and parliamentary activity. For both, the role of the party is to present new, improved positions to a passive electorate which will put the NDP in power.

"In this sense, the support for struggles is purely rhetorical; all it means is 'better' resolutions. To insure that the resolutions are honored, Towards Democracy proposes that the party's top bureaucracy should control the caucus. But this 'solution' in itself will not change anything, except to transfer from one handful of people to another handful, the right to comment upon struggles in which neither they nor the party are involved. This is not 'towards democracy'; it is towards maintaining the elitist status quo.

". . .If the NDP is to develop a mass socialist base, we must initiate actions in the community, actions which will aid people in their attempts to gain control over the decisions which affect them in their daily lives. Where workers, women, the poor, and young people are already struggling, we must join them as members of the NDP rather than contenting ourselves with adopting resolutions. Only in this way will we begin to show people the nature of the socialist society we wish to build."

Thus the debate concerns not just the relationship between the party and the organized labor movement — the labor character of the NDP — but also the crucial issue of what that labor character means for the development of a socialist, a class struggle program and strategy.

In the September council meeting, the criticisms of the legislative caucus in Towards Democracy were defeated, and the "motherhood" section on supporting groups in struggle was endorsed. But the debate has only opened up.

The discussion must be taken to the ranks in the trade union affiliates and the constituencies. Here the key questions of program and mass action can be debated and developed.

Neither the Barrett wing nor the B.C. Fed has shown any inclination to mobilize support among the rank and file. But the division in the leadership and the crucial character of the debate leaves open the door for the membership's intervention. The Waffle has the possibility to grasp this opportunity to extend its base, by providing a lever for the membership to come into the discussion.

Women and the Cuban revolution

(From *Labor Challenge*, October 1970)

by Eva Chertov

Eva Chertov is an American socialist who recently returned to the United States after living for six years in Cuba. For most of that period, she was an English teacher in Havana. Since returning she has become active in the women's liberation movement and prior to the August 26 mass women's demonstration in New York worked full time in the Women's Liberation Center helping to build the action. She is now Socialist Workers Party candidate for congress in New York.

The present article is based on a lecture she gave to a class sponsored by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance. It is excerpted from The Militant.

* * *

This year has seen the rise of an extremely important movement: the women's liberation movement. Part of the vanguard of this movement first became interested in politics with the triumph of the Cuban revolution. And many of the younger women in the movement also look to Cuba for answers to some of the basic questions they have about what has to be done to achieve the complete liberation of women.

So it is appropriate that we dedicate this discussion to what the Cuban leadership itself has called the most important revolution within the revolution: the revolution of Cuban women.

I'm going to rely mostly on personal conversations and experiences that I had in Cuba during the six years I lived there. To properly appreciate the tremendous gains that Cuban women have made, it is important to understand what their status was before 1959.

Prior to 1959 the situation in Cuba was one of severe economic depression, and this was reflected in the relationships between Cuban men and women. The U.S. sugar companies had a vested interest in maintaining the idea that Cuban women should be confined to the home. With practically 25 percent of the sugar workers unemployed for three-quarters of the year, there was certainly no desire on the part of the United Fruit Company, or U.S. sugar interests, that Cuban women should fight for equal job opportunities or even get the idea of the most minimal independence into their heads.

So the 15th century feudal ideas regarding male-female relationships — specifically of the Spanish variety — were allowed to exist and were even encouraged. The mystique of virginity, double standards for men and women, and the reduction of women to the most dehumanized sex objects were very deeply ingrained concepts accepted by the society as a whole, both male and female. The woman was to be in the home and the man in the streets.

In pre-1959 Cuba it was considered a status symbol that your wife should never leave the home, even to go shopping, except when the husband accompanied her. And this was right before the revolution, and even afterwards in some rural areas!

In other words, a woman was judged solely for her chastity and the width of her behind — the Cuban beauty symbol.

The whole idea of marriage in Cuba — that a woman's purpose was solely to give her husband sexual pleasure and to bear his descendants — wasn't basically different from in the U.S. But in this country there is a facade over it; in Cuba there wasn't. Women had to accept this position because they were discriminated against in the types of jobs they could get and therefore lived in total economic dependence on men.

A Cuban woman wasn't even supposed to enjoy sex with the one man she had! If she did, she was considered like a prostitute. Your true pleasure was supposed to be motherhood. Of course it was understood that **men** were different. They were supposed to have more than one woman. It proved that they were manly, and it was considered OK as long as there was no family scandal and they continued to maintain the home.

Now, before the revolution, women could only find employment in the most menial jobs — to some degree in the tobacco industry, and as maids or prostitutes. Once in a great while, if a woman's family had some connection with a foreign enterprise, she could get an office job there. But of course these jobs, in banks or stores, were only for those Cuban women who approximated the anglo image; Black and mulatto women, and that means very many Cuban women, were excluded from them.

But in spite of Cuban women's participation in the revolutionary struggle, the triumph of the revolution didn't bring about the total eradication of the very deep-rooted prejudices against them*,since a revolution isn't a magic wand.*

What was eradicated was the economic base upon which these prejudices had developed, and thus the stage was set for an ongoing battle, not between the sexes, but between the ideas of the past and the future. From the very outset of the revolution, it was evident that the new Cuba needed the full participation of every sector of society and particularly the women, who comprised 51 percent of the population. Women were needed for the people's militia; women were needed to help set up committees for defense of the revolution; and women were needed to teach an entire population to read and write in one year.

Every home, at this point, became a battle ground between the social concepts of the past and those which represented the future. You can just imagine the hell that broke loose in Cuban homes when their 12, 13 or 14-year-old daughters announced that they were going off to the mountains in mixed groups to teach the farmers how to read and write.

The parents were in an absolute crisis because their virgin daughter was going off into the mountains, and who knew what was going to happen to her up there. But at the same time they had to face the fact that this was an urgent revolutionary task, and that if they considered

themselves revolutionaries, they would just have to get over that crisis. And most of them did. The experience of one of my friends was an example of this conflict. Her family was against the revolution from the very beginning, and she was for it.

When she wanted to join the militia, her family brought up some rather stupid political arguments against the idea. Then, when they couldn't convince her, they asked, "Why would you want to go marching in the streets with pants on?" "And you would have to carry a gun around," they told her. "Women don't carry guns. Carrying heavy things, why, that's totally unfemale!" And thirdly, they said, "Don't you know that everyone in the women's militia is a lesbian?" So my friend had to tie sheets together and climb out of her window in order to go to militia practice. Since then her family has left for the United States, and she is still in Cuba.

Now, while the needs of the new society were knocking away at the old ways of thinking, the Cuban women set up their own organization in 1960, the Cuban Federation of Women, to deal specifically with the problems that women faced. One of the first things they began were night schools, then training programs, and then live-in schools for women scholarship students. Schools were set up specifically for women, so that they could get the necessary training to participate in production and thus end their economic dependency on men.

The problems of child-care centers, workers cafeterias and birth-control information were also taken up from the very beginning of the revolution. Equal pay for equal work was established. Women were encouraged to continue their studies through the university level, and the concept of careers "for men only" was eradicated. All these things were dealt with during the very first year of the revolution.

Another thing that is convincing a growing number of men and women that previous concepts regarding women's physical abilities were false is the massive participation of women in the voluntary agricultural work sessions. And in the fields a funny kind of thing would happen. The first couple of days some guy might make jokes about working alongside women. But when we got started working, it was a different matter.

There were only so many people and a great many holes had to be opened. And in the process of the work, that whole concept that it was a joke for a woman to be digging would also disappear. Those kinds of ideas don't last when you have 50 acres of holes to open.

So that kind of equality, established through work, has also done quite a bit to break down deeply ingrained prejudices against women, although I'm not saying that they have been totally broken down. To illustrate how these prejudices are breaking down, I would like to mention a speech given by one of the Cuban leaders at an all-female agricultural plant. He said (and I'm summarizing the gist of it), "We were very amazed to find that these women who yesterday came out of their isolated little cubbyholes in the home were more disciplined and more dedicated in carrying out their excruciating, back-breaking work in the fields than the special selected brigades of young Communist members."

Some of these leaders also admitted that they must have harbored a certain amount of male chauvinism, because they themselves did not understand the full capabilities of women until women actually came out of the homes and proved what they could do.

The Cuban revolutionary leadership has, however, kept up a constant attack against male chauvinism, which they equate with counterrevolutionary ideas. One example was the speech Che Guevara gave to some factory workers in 1963, which was quoted in John Gerassi's book *Venceremos*.

In this speech, Che simply told the workers they should have elected more women to the party in their local election, in line with the proportion of women in the factory. He told them that the election of so few women reflected a kind of backward thinking that is just not apropos for a revolutionary period. Women are extraordinarily important for our society, he said, and they have to be equally represented; you guys had better get over your hang-ups — he really laid it on them.

Other examples ware the speeches given at the fifth plenary session of the Cuban Women's Federation. One of the revolutionary leaders made a speech, in which he ran down the whole history of male chauvinism, specifically in Cuba, showing how this was rooted in the old society and how it was detrimental to the new society. It was at this same plenary session that Fidel said that the most important revolution taking place within the revolution was the evolution of women.

The most recent example of the efforts of the leadership to spur this revolution within the revolution could be seen in their response to the census that was taken about a year and a half ago. Through the census it was discovered that a significant number of women between the ages of 17 and 35 were neither working nor studying. This shocked everybody.

So the Cuban Women's Federation got together with the minister of labor, and they worked out a program to try to bring these women into production. After a period of time, a progress report was given. The Cuban Women's Federation had been able to recruit to the labor force a great number of women who were previously not productive in any way.

Here I would like to say a few words about the child-care situation in Cuba. A couple of days ago I had a chance to look through a booklet that listed all the child-care centers in New York City, the richest city in the richest country in the world. I When I counted up all the child-care centers with "no fee", the grand total came to 121!

Compare this abysmal situation with Cuba, which began its public nursery program in 1961 and by 1969 had 375 free child-care centers, where meals and all medical care are free. This is in a very poor country with nothing but sugar to start with. And furthermore, the attitude of the Cubans is that 375 child-care centers are only a drop in the bucket. They are very ashamed of that number and are taking steps to improve it.

A process has also started taking place in the family. The Cuban government cannot just come out and say, "We abolish the family." There may be a few people who are very advanced in their thinking, but this is not the way the whole population feels about the family.

There is, however, the beginning of a de facto loosening of the family without it being announced. So that slowly, without stepping on people's feelings, a new generation is being educated in a totally new concept of what a woman is and what a woman's capabilities are.

Now, Cuba doesn't represent the classless socialist society, which can only be achieved on a world scale when the richest countries, the imperialist countries, have achieved socialist revolutions. But Cuba does give us an idea of what progress can be made for women when capitalism is abolished.

It's because of this vision of what will be possible for people to do under socialism that I am a revolutionary. Our responsibility as revolutionary women at this moment in history is to go out there and build the independent women's liberation movement. By doing this, we will achieve two things: first, these women will win victories through their struggles, gain confidence, and become a powerful force in helping to make a socialist revolution. And secondly, if we can build an independent, broad women's liberation movement prior to our revolution, then women themselves will be a power that can guarantee that steps toward their complete liberation will be one of the first things on the agenda after the revolution.

Repeal the War Measures Act!
Federal troops, Out of Quebec!

labor Challenge

Vol. 1, No. 18A (Special Edition) October 23, 1970 10 cents

Free all political prisoners is campus rallies' demand

OCTOBER 21 — Within hours of the Trudeau government's proclamation of the War Measures Act, significant protests were launched across Canada. On Friday, October 16, rallies on university campuses were held in Toronto (150 at University of Toronto; 300 at York), 800 at the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan, and 80 on the Saskatoon campus. Further rallies and demonstrations were held on Saturday. 500 turned out for a rally in Toronto: 300 demonstrated in Winnipeg, and 100 in Ottawa. A thousand spectators and participants attended an ultraleft rally organized by the Vancouver Liberation Front.

Demonstrations, teach-ins and mass meetings are planned for this week in Kitchener-Waterloo, London, Fredericton, Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Ottawa, Regina and Saskatoon, organized by ad hoc committees.

In Quebec the first steps towards building a massive civil liberties defense campaign in the face of severe repression, were taken on the weekend with the formation of the Front Commun pour la Liberte (Common Front for Liberty). This group is made up of journalists, civil libertarians and nationalist figures with the active support and facilities of the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

A strong statement by the three major Quebec labor federations denounced the Bourassa government's "decision to end the negotiations (with the FLQ) and to explore the federal government to put

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by Robert Dumont

OCTOBER 22 — "Kidnappings? We are a nation that has been kidnapped," is a phrase often heard in Quebec this week, in the wake of Ottawa's proclamation of the War Measures Act.

It's an apt metaphor. According to police reports, almost 400 persons have been jailed in more than 1,600 raids. And the arrests are still continuing. At last count, close to 5,000 troops backed by an estimated 15,000 police are occupying Quebec and the federal capital, with reinforcements being sent in every day from bases as far away as Edmonton.

Quebec Justice Minister Choquette says he will use his authority under the War Measures Act to hold those arrested a full 21 days without charges. And, once charged, they may then be held for 90 days without a court appearance. The minister of "justice" says the delays are "inevitable" because of the large number of police files to be consulted.

Even a partial listing of those arrested — the ones we know for sure are being detained — reads like a Who's Who of Quebec's political and trade union leaders, writers, and artists of the left and nationalist movements. They include two candidates for Montreal city council; at least five officials of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, including the president of the CNTU's Montreal central council, Michel Chartrand; some 30 members of the Parti Quebecois, the mass independentist party; and prominent political activists like Pierre Vallieres, Charles Gagnon and Stan Gray.

The detainees include Arthur Young and Penny Simpson, leaders of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the Quebec Trotskyist organization. The arrest of Young and Simpson, official publicity agent and treasurer respectively of the LSO's candidate for the Montreal mayoralty, Manon Leger, is symptomatic; authorities like Mayor Drapeau are using the Act to

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A nation kidnapped ...
an eyewitness
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Act suppresses all dissent

The War Measures Act is being used to suppress *all* opposition to the federal, Quebec and Montreal governments, charges the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere in a statement released October 18.

Two leading members of the LSO in Quebec, Arthur Young and Penny Simpson, have been arrested and are being held under the Act, despite their well-known opposition to the terrorist tactics of the Front de Liberation du Quebec. Young is editor of La Lutte Ouvriere, the Quebec revolutionary socialist monthly. He and Simpson are publicity agent and campaign treasurer, respectively, of Manon Leger, the candidate of the LSO and the Ligue des Femmes Socialistes for the Montreal mayoralty.

"We protest this crude attempt to deprive the people of Montreal of the right to acquaint themselves with the socialist program and the democratic alternative in the current civic elections," the LSA/ LSO statement declares. "Manon Leger's campaign is based on the demand for an independent socialist Quebec. Is it a crime to speak out for French unilingualism and a workers government in these elections?"

Arrests under the Act are by no means limited to those whose views may be described as revolutionary, the LSA/ LSO notes. Two candidates of the Front d'Action Populaire (FRAP), a trade union-backed political party contesting the Montreal elections, are being held. FRAP's offices have been raided repeatedly, and its print-shop closed down. "Hundreds of persons have been arrested and held incommunicado. Lawyers' files have been seized. The daily press reports that 'tons of literature' have been carted away."

In proclaiming the War Measures Act, mobilizing the military and suppressing all civil liberties, "the authorities are engaging in counter-terror," the LSA/ LSO charges.

The League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere is a common organization uniting revolutionary socialist in both nations, Quebec and English Canada. Its members are active in the student movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement and the movement for women's liberation. They are prominent militants in their trade unions.

In Quebec, they are leading participants in the movement for national independence; LSO members have played key roles in the struggle to defend the French language, and in the student movement. In English Canada, the LSA is well-known in the left for its unconditional support of the New Democratic Party and the struggle to win the NDP to a socialist program.

Because of its clear understanding that socialism can only come through the conscious action of the majority of the workers around a program which mobilizes the working class in mass actions, the LSA/ LSO is a firm opponent of individual terror, such as is practised by the FLQ. In Quebec, the LSO has consistently opposed the FLQ's methods, and counterposed its own program which

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Who killed P. Laporte?

M. Robert Bourassa.

My dear Robert,

I am convinced that I am writing the most important letter of my life. . .

I insist that the police cease all searches to find me. . .If they succeeded, this would mean a murderous fusillade from which I would certainly not emerge alive.

That means that you have the power to decide the fate of my life.

If the departure of the "political prisoners" is organized and carried out successfully, I am certain that my personal safety is absolutely assured.

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DECIDE — WHETHER I LIVE OR DIE. I am counting on you and thank you.

Best wishes,
Pierre Laporte.

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... U.S. protests hit repression

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Quebec under military yoke."

The promising actions of Friday and Saturday were somewhat undercut by the hysteria promoted by the government and the media on the death of Pierre Laporte, Quebec minister of labor and immigration. The shock felt by Canadians was used to justify retroactively the government's drastic move, tending to disorient the growing protest movement.

The arbitrary powers of the War Measures Act have not been widely implemented in English Canada. There have been several incidents and a few arrests, however. Some reactionary campus administrators have used the Act as a cover to censor the views of student newspaper editors, even threatening some with expulsion for having attempted to report what is happening in Quebec. The student newspaper at the University of Guelph, The Ontarion, was seized by the police for carrying the FLQ Manifesto — the same document published in the daily press only a few days earlier. In Winnipeg, Dimension bookstore, owned by Waffle leader Cy Gonick, was harassed by police.

In Quebec, the developing protests were hit hardest by the direct repression. An occupation of the administration building at the University of Quebec in Montreal was ended by police intervention on Sunday.

Leading civil libertarian figures have been arrested. Similarly most radical leaders who could have provided direction for the protests are being held by the police.

A special conference of leaders of the three Quebec labor movements on Wednesday, in Quebec City is to decide on means of action against the repression.

A number of prominent trade union figures launched a call for passive resistance against the repression. This call was picked up and supported in an editorial statement in **Quebec-Presse**, a left-wing weekly supported by the labor movement: "The army is not in Quebec to protect the population. It is in Quebec to protect the ruling class. . .Consequently it is necessary to resist the repression that hits everywhere in Quebec — and to resist by using all imaginable peaceful means ... The resistance must be a common concerted effort of the popular movements, of the citizens' committees, of all the associations and of the trade unions."

The crisis in Canada has provoked some response internationally. In the U.S., Nixon used the opportunity to congratulate the Canadian government and hint at similar measures to be used against American radicals. On the other hand, the American radical and antiwar movement launched protests against the repression.

Demanding an end to the military occupation of Montreal, and the repeal of the War Measures Act, demonstrations spearheaded by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and other groups and individuals were held at Canadian consular offices. Actions were held in Worcester, Mass., New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Madison, Seattle, and Berkeley.

A statement demanding the release of the political prisoners and an end to the political repression was signed by Noam Chomsky, William Styron, Susan Sontag, Brad Lyttle, and others, for presentation to the Canadian consul in New York.

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...act now

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projects politicization of the working people through their class organizations, the trade unions, around the demand for a labor party.

That is the position which the LSO has attempted to popularize through its election campaigns. In the Montreal civic elections, it is supporting the candidates of FRAP, which it regards as an important step towards the formation of a Quebec labor party. The candidacy of the LSO's Manon Leger for mayor is posed in the framework of rounding out the FRAP alternative at the election's focal point, the mayoralty.

The LSA/ LSO statement on the War Measures Act concludes with a call for action against the repression:

"All these interested in the defense of civil liberties must unite and rally to the defense of those victimized by the current repression in Quebec. We must defend all the political prisoners whose ranks are now swelled by hundreds arrested under Trudeau's proclamation.

"Meetings, rallies, demonstrations should be held on every campus, in every trade union, in every constituency club of the New Democratic Party, in community organizations, in the antiwar movement, to discuss this serious threat to our civil liberties. A massive campaign must be launched to

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
WITHDRAW ALL FEDERAL TROOPS FROM QUEBEC!
REVOKE AND ABOLISH THE WAR MEASURES ACT AND ALL THE REPRESSIVE LAWS!

Who killed P. Laporte ?

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My dear Robert,

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I insist that the police cease all searches to find me. . .If they succeeded, this would mean a murderous fusillade from which I would certainly not emerge alive.

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DECIDE — WHETHER I LIVE OR DIE. I am counting on you and thank you.

Best wishes,
Pierre Laporte.

labor Challenge
#18a Oct. 1970

An eyewitness report

Montreal under the occupation

by Jean Martin

What does it mean to live in an occupied country?

The soldiers stand by public buildings with rifles and machine guns at the ready; army personnel carriers criss-cross the city; now and then a convoy of twenty or more vehicles rumbles to an army base; helicopters hover over the city.

But the soldiers seem awkward, ill-at-ease. . .how many speak the language of the Québecois? Their baggy battledress contrasts with the menace of their automatic rifles; they look so awkward standing there on the bustling downtown streets.

Why are they here? Who are they protecting?

"They've come to protect us from the FLQ," I hear. Is that why scores are arrested who have publicly opposed the FLQ and its methods, who obviously have nothing to do with it? Is that why police announce today that they are considering banning the pro-union weekly Quebec-Presse for advocating "passive resistance" to the war measures act?

Is that why the Universite du Quebec was closed down today? And why political meetings were banned in campuses across the city?

One can only conclude that the power that planned this military invasion is as afraid of the mass democratic expression of the Québecois as Trudeau says he is of the FLQ.

Quebec has no government, said René Levesque Friday, expressing what many have concluded from Ottawa's imposition of war rule. Indeed, Quebec's people are ruled by federal decree with no legal recourse, with all civil rights abolished.

The Catholic bishops of Quebec proclaimed October 17 that "It is injustice that breeds violence" — showing more insight than Trudeau into the causes of terrorism.

But as I look at the soldiers, the machine guns, the convoys, it seems to me that the worthy bishops got it backwards. It's violence — naked government violence — that sustains the injustice.

The press says that life goes on as usual, that a general calm prevails.

A nation kidnapped ..

Every day we phone our friends, our comrades, to see who has disappeared since yesterday.

Every night we wait for the knock at the door — at 5 a.m. — the knock of police terror resounding across the province.

From the pattern of arrests — scores in jail who have opposed the FLQ and its methods and had no contact with them — it seems that we're all "criminals" in the eyes of the police, all of us who have advocated the liberation of Quebec.

Our hopes to determine our future are mocked by the imposition of the War Measures Act, the abolition of our democratic rights and political life, by the arbitrary decision of 23 men in Ottawa.

Quebec under the War Measures Act: seven million prisoners in a jail cell called "Canada"; our freedom regulated by a federal government we cannot control.

Seven million hostages. . .descended from a nation kidnapped 300 years ago.

Gov't set stage for killing of Quebec minister

MONTREAL, October 18 — Manon Leger, socialist candidate for mayor of this city, today termed the death of Pierre Laporte senseless and purposeless.

"At the same time," she said, "We must draw attention to the federal government's role in setting the stage for the tragedy. As Laporte himself wrote to Premier Bourassa, 'You have the power to decide whether I live or die'."

Leger pointed out that the government, in refusing the FLQ's demands to let the political prisoners leave the country, in decreeing the War Measures Act, the armed occupation of Quebec and the massive arrests, could not but have foreseen that this would lead to Laporte's death.

"I wish to reaffirm," she continued, "my opposition to terrorist actions which can and have only damaged the cause of the socialist liberation of Quebec.

"Far from advocating the violent overthrow of the government, I have always favored the establishment of an independent socialist Quebec by peaceful means. In my view a socialist society can only be achieved through the democratic action of the majority.

Leger appealed to the government to save the life of J.R. Cross and end the reign of violence. It must start, she stated, by withdrawing the War Measures Act and freeing all those detained under its provisions.

labor Challenge #18a Oct 1974

LSO's Leger campaigns for a French Montreal

(Editor's note: Manon Léger, the 23-year-old woman candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes for mayor of Montreal, is presenting the labor-socialist alternative to Drapeau in the October 25 civic elections.

(The following are excerpts from Leger's programmatic leaflet, the title of which expresses the theme of her campaign: "City Hall to the Workers. . .For a French Montreal in an Independent and Socialist Quebec.")

* * * *

* Montreal, as the leading city of the nation, must declare itself in favor of an independent and socialist Quebec!

* Companies refusing to use French as the language of work will be nationalized, and all state-subsidized schools must have French as the language of instruction!

* Industries continuing to pollute will be nationalized!

* Massive construction of low-cost housing. Nationalization of urban land. Creation and recognition of tenant unions!

* Abolition of public transit fares and extension of Métro (subway) lines!

* An end to discrimination against women in all areas! Creation of free clinics for abortion on demand!

MANON LEGER, socialist mayoralty candidate in Montreal.

GM tramples Que. language rights

The 2,300 workers at GM's plant in Ste-Therese, Quebec, had a special reason to head out on strike Sept. 11 in advance of the deadline set by the UAW international executive. This was the arrogant racist refusal of the giant auto monopoly's local negotiators to conduct the talks in French, the native language of 95% of the plant's work force.

When Premier Robert Bourassa intervened in the dispute, under public pressure, GM promised him it would negotiate in French. However, it then backtracked to a promise to translate the words of its English negotiators!

Union representative Maurice Vassart told the trade union weekly Quebec-Presse Sept. 6: "The company has declared that it is ready to employ a simultaneous translation system, *on condition that the union agrees to pay half the cost!* Obviously, this is totally unacceptable. The company must itself assume responsibility for its incompetence to talk in French to its Quebecois employees."

A second intervention by Bourassa got the company's agreement to pay the full cost of translations.

But on the main union demand — that GM make French the working language in the plant (surely the most elementary democracy!) — this multinational monopoly hasn't yelded an inch. It won't even agree to name a French-speaking grievance arbitrator.

labor Challenge #18a Oct 1970

War Measures Act is police state law

by Harry Kopyto

On the morning of October 16, Canadians awoke to discover that at 4 a.m., the federal Cabinet had turned the country into a police state.

The law invoked by the Liberal government, the War Measures Act, effectively wipes out the civil liberties of all Canadians.

Under this Act, citizens can be arrested and held for 21 days without being charged and for 90 days without being brought to trial. Nothing prevents police from holding someone for 89 days, rearresting him as he leaves the police station, holding him a further 89 days, rearresting him again, and so on.

Police can enter anyone's home without warrant, seize any possessions, and hold them for 90 days or until the end of legal proceedings.

The Front de Libération du Québec are outlawed, the first time in decades a political organization has been illegalized, allowing the government unlimited powers in suspending civil rights.

The fact is, as the Canadian Civil Liberties Association has noted in a submission to the government released Oct. 19, "Neither when the matter was introduced in Parliament nor during statements which have followed in the media, has the government furnished the Canadian people with a statement of fact sufficient to support the conclusion that this country was on the brink of an insurrection."

Yet the Act was invoked expressly to deal with a state of "apprehended insurrection."

People can be arrested for past actions made illegal retroactively. Someone who attended a legal meeting of the FLQ two years ago may be subject to a five year penalty.

The Act allows 'for censorship' and control of publications and other means of communication.

The Act is so ambiguous and broadly worded that it is impossible to determine whether a whole series of actions and statements are legal. By taking precedence over the Canadian Bill of Rights, it is effectively a **carte blanche**.

When the War Measures Act was proclaimed at the outset of the Second World War, its first victim was a Trotskyist who opposed the war. Subsequently, it was used to transport and intern thousands of Japanese-Canadians — many of them born in Canada — to camps in Canadia's interior.

The government says it will introduce within a month new legislation to deal with "peacetime crises." But according to the "general approach" that Justice Minister Turner says the new bill will take, it threatens to be similar to a repitition of the old Section 98 of the Criminal Code. Section 98, passed in order to frame the leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, was used to suppress the Communist party until a massive civil liberties campaign won its repeal in 1938.

The Globe and Mail of Oct. 20 states that the new bill "would include such offences as sedition and treason. . .There will be sections permitting police to arrest suspects without a warrant, and to detain them for extended periods without laying a charge. Special search powers will also be included. . .The new bill will give the government authority to invoke emergency powers by executive order."

The campaign to repeal the War Measures Act must therefore firmly declare its opposition to **all** such repressive legislation.

photo by White

'FLQ policies lead to dead end'- LSO

"What is the end result of the FLQ's actions and of its terrorist policy?" asks a special emergency issue of La Lutte Ouvrière, the Quebec revolutionary socialist journal, devoted to the present crisis. "The FLQ has been pushed by the federal government, its Quebec representatives and its trigger-happy police into a cul de sac which has already led to the death of Laporte and which can possibly end with the death of Cross and the martyrdom of the FLQers. . .

"Far from embarrassing the government and forcing it to draw back, the FLQ has strengthened Trudeau's hand. Have the FLQ's actions mobilized and inspired the working class? No.

"The FLQ has substituted the isolated actions of a small handful for the mass political action of the working class, the only road for Quebec's liberation. The task of socialists and all those who want an independent socialist Quebec is to win the working class to a program of struggle; we must organize as a class on the economic and political level to take the power into our hands."

labor Challenge

#18a Oct 1970

Young Socialists' appeal

Fight the repression now!

by Jacquie Henderson Executive Secretary, YS/ LJS

On Thursday, October 15, mass meetings of students at the University of Montreal, the University of Quebec and several junior colleges, voted to strike. Touched off by the mobilization of federal troops — a vivid symbol to Quebecois of their oppression by Ottawa — these mass protest rallies condemned the Quebec government for refusing to meet the FLQ demands, and expressed support for the anticapitalist, pro-independence sentiments of the FLQ's Manifesto.

Prominent trade union and Parti Quebecois figures called on the government to meet the FLQ demands, and the CNTU Montreal Central Council declared its support of the FLQ's aims.

It was in response to this developing mass movement that the Trudeau government invoked the War Measures Act. Suspending the most basic civil liberties, the Cabinet issued a go-ahead for the arrest of hundreds of students, labor leaders, intellectuals, entertainers, etc. The universities were shut down, and the police evacuated students occupying the University of Quebec. Those who had initiated the student protests were among the first arrested.

The government acted because it feared a repetition, this time on a larger scale, of the massive mobilizations which shook Quebec in October 1968 and October 1969. Those actions, beginning with student protests, involved hundreds of thousands of Quebecois in mass action against the subordination of the Quebec nation.

The Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialists has itself been attacked under the repressive legislation. Penny Simpson, executive council member of the YS/ LJS and founding member of the Montreal LJS, has been arrested and detained without charge. She has been held for almost a week now.

Simpson is an outspoken avocate of an independent socialist Quebec and a leader of the women's liberation movement in Montreal. She is campaign treasurer for Manon Leger, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière candidate for Mayor of Montreal. Has Trudeau outlawed the struggle for women's and Quebecois liberation? Is it now illegal to pose the socialist alternative in election campaigns?

The War Measures Act and the government-induced hysteria is designed not to capture a few kidnappers, but to repress the drive of the Quebecois for independence.

photo by White

Protest at Ottawa against the War Measures Act heard Robin Mathews (foreground) denounce government's suspension of democratic rights.

The Act is an attack on all Canadians, and on all Canadian students. Although intended primarily to suppress the Quebecois movement, it has been used to seize the Guelph University student newspaper, The Ontarion, which reprinted parts of the FLQ Manifesto. More important, it threatens to create a precedent by which the government can crush any opposition to its pro-capitalist policies.

Trudeau demagogically tried to exploit the Laporte killing by defusing the protests against the War Measures Act with appeals for "unity." But on every major campus, the demand has been for information, for explanations, for discussion. Teach-ins and rallies have discussed the implications of the Act. Students want to know why.

Why was this action "necessary"? Why were the troops called in?

It is incrasingly clear that the government has no satisfactory answer to these questions. Trudeau cannot admit that there was no secret plan for insurrection, that his government is attempting to crush a democratic mass movement.

In most areas, ad hoc committees representing a broad range of political opinions have been formed to expose the cynical, anti-democratic nature of the government's action. Petitions, rallies and demonstrations have been organized.

These developments must continue and expand, around the formation of united fronts of all concerned tendencies through democratically functioning ad hoc committees.

Emergency assemblies should be held in the high schools, during school time, to discuss the threat to our democratic rights.

The students must move out to organize the community at large against the repression.

The independentist movement for self-determination in Quebec cannot be suppressed. It is too deeply rooted in the national oppression of the entire Quebecois nation. The inevitable and early resurgence of the movement in Quebec will lend a new perspective to the struggle in English Canada against the repressive laws.

The student movement must ensure that a movement to re-establish civil liberties is launched and is successful.

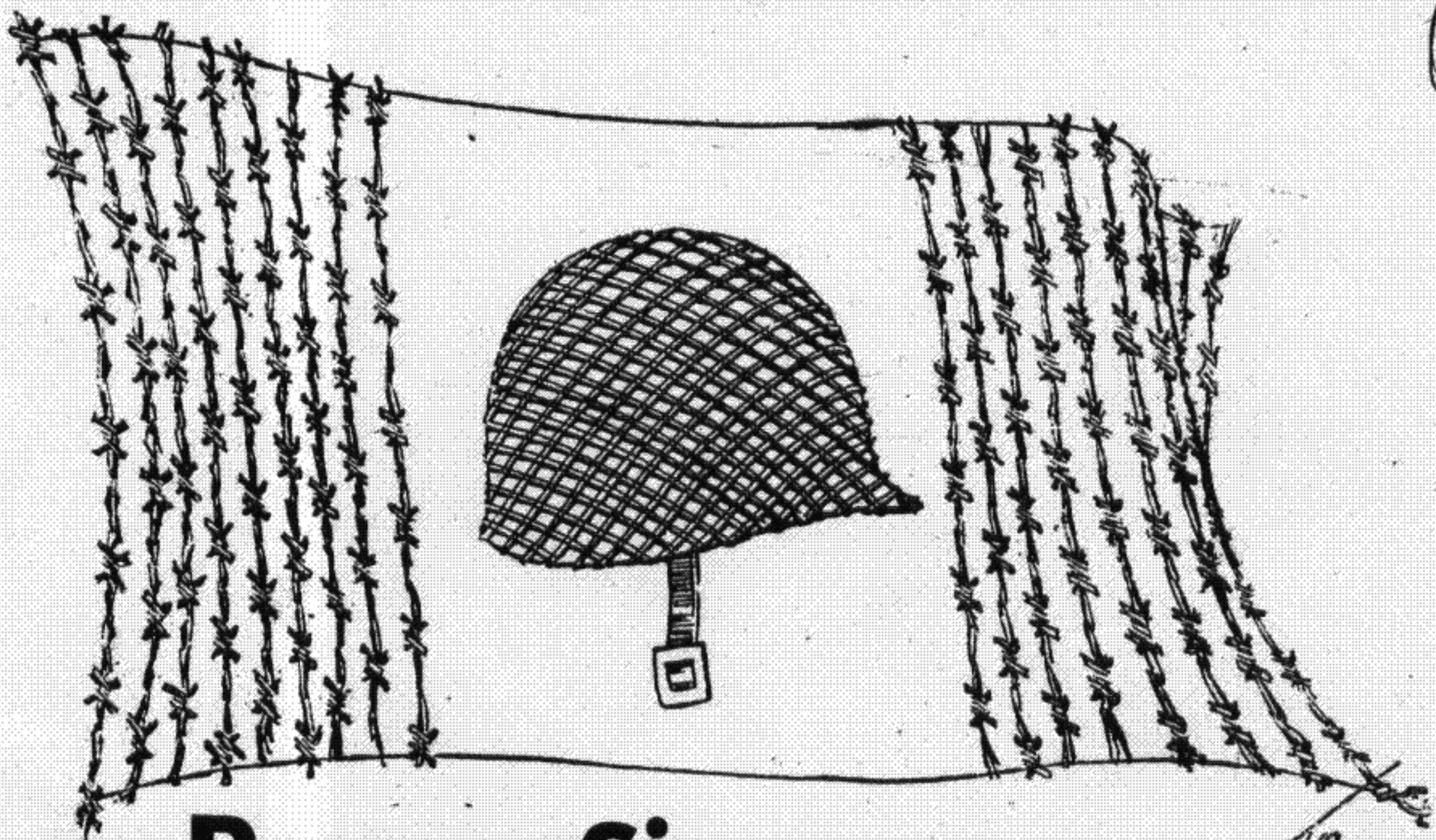
A defeat in this crucial struggle would seriously compromise and endanger every democratic struggle in the future. A victory can and will lay a strong foundation for future struggles to advance our democratic rights.

1970-WMA

NOV. 13

Day of Protest Against Repressive Legislation

62



featuring **Penny Simpson**

held incommunicado for 6 days, campaign treasurer for Manon Leger, socialist candidate for mayor of Montreal

and other speakers

FRI. 1PM

Hart House Debates Room

This meeting is part of the Nov. 13 cross-Canada Day of Protest which was called by a meeting of 28 student union presidents in Winnipeg, Oct. 30, and by le Comite Quebecois pour la defense des libertes.

among the sponsors

The Student Administrative Council
Rod Hurd, President, Student Administrative Council
Larry Hoffman, President, Graduate Student Union
Wayne Roberts, Eexcutive, Graduate Student Union
University of Toronto Young Socialists
George Addison, Vietnam Mobilization Committee
Susan Garber, c.c. U of T Women's Caucus
Elliot Rose, Professor of History
Bill Dyer, Law Union
Chandler Davis, Professor of Mathematics
Jim Prentice, Professor of Physics
Third World Club

organisations listed for purposes of identification only

for further information phone 363-9618

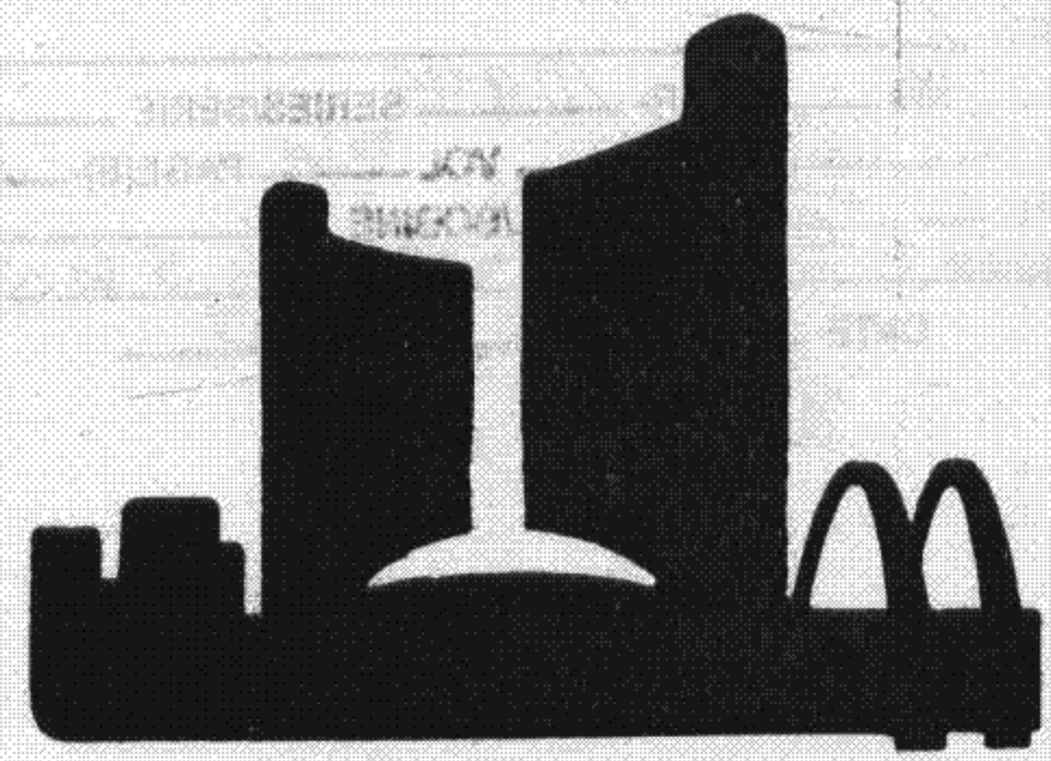
Political committee minutes, November22, 1970, convened at 2 p.m.

Chair; Fleming; secretary; Macdonald; S at arms ; Maxwell; PC members present; Laboisiere, Kent, Moore, Fleming, Macdonald, Connolly, Crandall, Brock, Saunders, Whitton, Maxwell; P.C. members absent; Ruby; Invited; Eliot
Minutes; m/c to adopt minutes of November 9
Montreal ; Kent reported; that the C.O. continue for the immediate future to forego financial contributions from Montreal in order to enable Montreal to take A.B. on staff
Membership ; m/c to accept B.Z.'s transfer from Montreal to Toronto
International ; Report by Kent
Ottawa; m/c to adopt report by Kent including decision of LSA/LSO members to appoint JR as organizer.
Action Press; referred to bureau
NDP; Macdonald reported. Agreed that general perspective of the Waffle in the coming leadership struggle are adequate to carrry the left forward and our forces should emphasize the need to create a more favorable climate for our press and the LSA/LSO
Saskatchewan; Report by Kent on expulsion moves against comrades in NDP. m/c that we ask the YS C.O. to prepare a positive statement of identity with the FI in reply to the expulsionn campaign, that we circulate the petition across the country pending receipt from Saskatoon of names of prominent persons already signing it-particularly persons in sections other than the Saskatchewan section and leading persons in the Saskatchewan NDY. Report on election campaign for mayor of Saskatoon. Agreed that we remind branches that they inform C.O. of intentions to contest elections in advance. Report on discussion in youth to arrange for a Prairie regional organizer
Women's Liberation Report of telephone conversation with JH at the Saskatoon conference. Discussion on Velvet Fist and need for cross-Canada publication. Discussion on cross-Canada anti-abortion campaign coming Spring
Toronto branch conference; Report by Maxwell. m/c to send minutes of conference along with tendency statement to all organizers and central committee members.
Central office operation ; discussion of replacement for Kent-referred to next meeting
War Measures Act; report on developments around Montreal committee,endorsement by CNTU Montreal council and preparations for mass meeting with Levesque. Discussion on campaign to make coming trials the focus of the anti-War Measures Act campaign.
adjournement 6.05 p.m.

LSA 1970

Who rules Toronto?

Who controls Toronto? The land sharks and speculators? The banks and big corporations? The Crombies of City Hall? What are the mechanisms of control? In whose interests is the Toronto Transit Commission run? Do the "reformers" in City Hall fight the rulers of Toronto? How can working people fight for their interests at City Hall? These are some of the questions facing working people as Torontonians prepare to vote December 2.



Speaker: Dennis Lomas

Socialist candidate for Board of Education in 1970

Fri. Nov. 29
8 p.m.

Vanguard Forum
discussion and debate on the left

Vanguard Forum

discussion and debate on the left

Socialist Campaign Victory Celebration

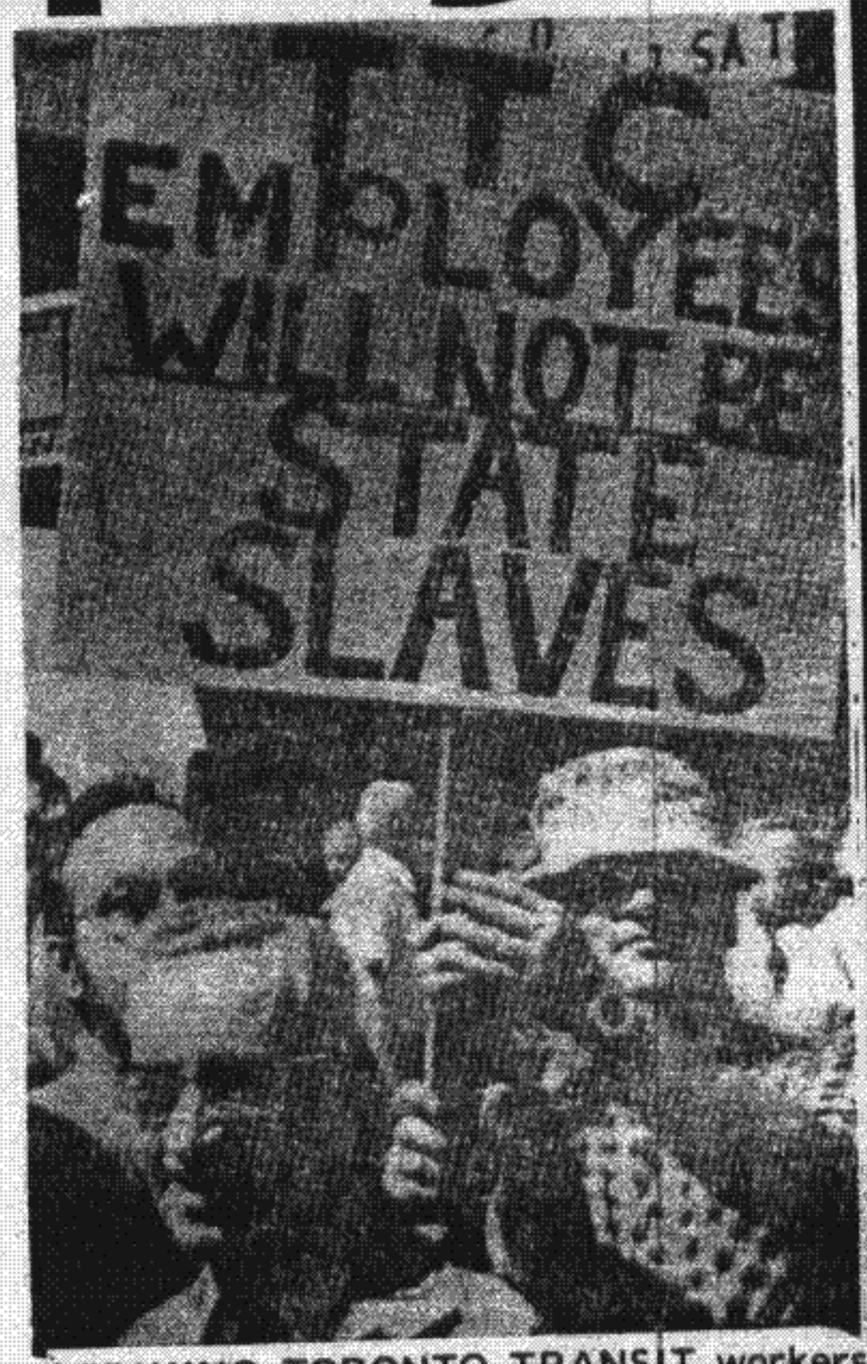
HEAR JOAN CAMPANA, socialist candidate for mayor of Toronto.

Sat.
Nov. 30

8 pm

Music

Refreshments



STRIKING TORONTO TRANSIT workers

334 Queen St. W. Phone 363-9618

CONTRIBUTION: $1. salaried; 50¢ unsalaried

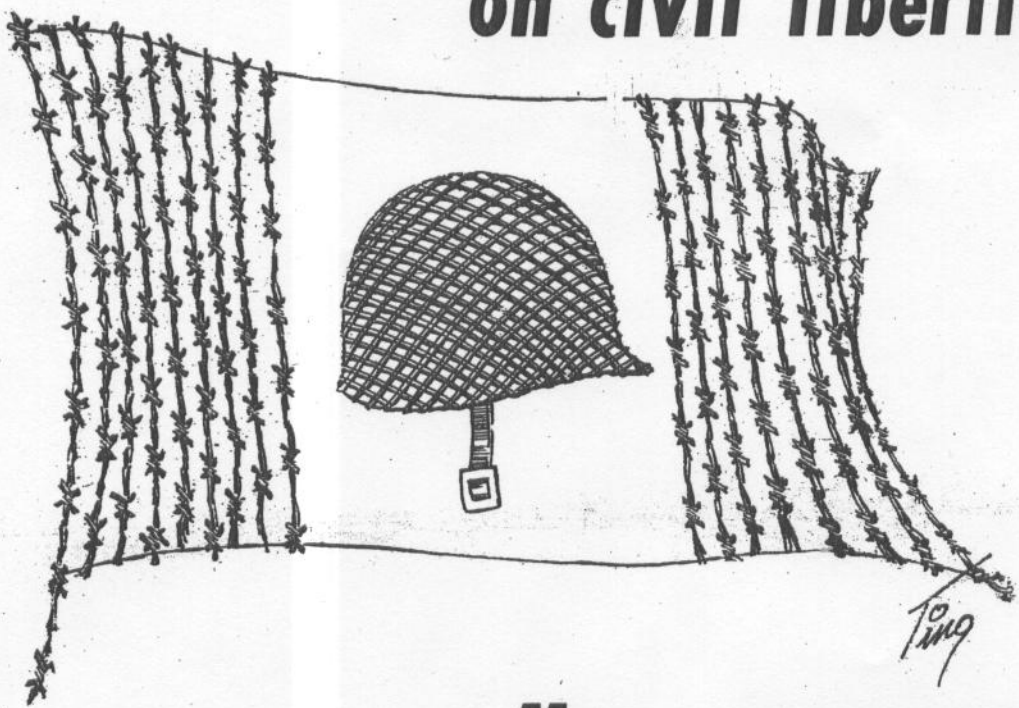
lative peoples'
rogram for power
page 4

leeded: a strategy
o beat GM
page 3

labor Challenge

Vol. 1, No. 19 November 9, 1970 15 cents

Halt Trudeau's assault on civil liberties !



Mass movement or the individual act?

page 10

Special reports: ● from a Quebec jail ● the mounting protest

ny Simpson, addressing mass meeting of 1,000 students at Memorial University, St. John's, Nfld. She called for protest against the War Measures Act d the repression in Quebec. See story, page 12.

labor Challenge
#19 Nov 1970

Victim of Act on tour

Penny Simpson, one of the first Montrealers to be victimized by the sweeping arrests under the War Measures Act, spoke to over 1,000 students and faculty at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland yesterday.

Her talk was part of an extensive speaking tour against the Act in the Maritimes and Central Canada. Following her speech, the meeting decided to form a broad committee representative of the community to oppose the War Measures Act.

Simpson's tour has taken her to meetings and TV and radio appearances in Halifax and St. John's and will continue to Fredericton, Mancton, Ottawa, Cornwall, Kingston, Peterborough, Sudbury and several Southwestern Ontario centers.

Earlier, in Halifax, her meetings included a speech to 100 sponsored by the Dalhousie University law society and a meeting of 50 organized by the Dalhousie Young Socialists. At Kings College she spoke to over 100 and to another 60 at St. Mary's College.

Simpson was arrested in a pre-dawn raid of her apartment October 16 and held incommunicado for six days. At the time of her arrest she was the treasurer of the socialist campaign of Manon Leger for mayor of Montreal.

Simpson's work as an activist for the Quebec women's liberation movement received wide publicity during last April's Quebec national elections after she confronted Premier Robert Bourassa, in a mass meeting, on the issue of abortion.

Simpson is also known as a leader of the Montreal Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. She is the first of the over 400 arrested victims of the War Measures Act to take the case of the Quebecois nationalist movement and the fight against the War Measures Act to English Canadian audiences.

Further details on her tour can be had from: War Measures Act Tour coordinator, 198 Robert Street, Apt. 5, Toronto, Ontario.

Special issue boosts sales, now follow up with subs

by Peter Sharpe

Canada-wide Sub Drive Coordinator

The response was unprecedented! We printed 1,000 extra copies, but three days after it was off the press the special edition of Labor Challenge on the War Measures Act was sold out.

We met Trudeau's attack by redoubling our efforts to spread the truth about the Québécois struggle, and the meaning of the War Measures Act. And now the second run of 3,000 in turn is almost gone.

The challenge is now to bring our Labor Challenge subscription drive up to its goal by selling subs to the new readers we have been meeting, so that they can read the real story of the struggle against Trudeau & co. on this and other issues in the months to come.

Individual copy sales shot up during the crisis — but subscriptions lagged behind. Our scoreboard shows the standings up to press time, November 4. The cross-Canada total is still well below our target, but most areas are confident they can reach their quota.

In fact Beaver Harbor is already over the top!

The capitalist press has given us a real lesson in censorship these weeks, depriving us of the truth about the struggle against the War Measures Act, and the real reasons for its imposition, at the very moment we need it the most.

Complete the subscription blank on this page and send it along to us with $1.00. We will rush you the special edition of Labor Challenge and keep it coming to your home for four months. You'll see how indispensable it is — and subscribe for a year at $3.00.

AREA	QUOTA	NEW SUBS	%
Beaver Harbor	5	9	180
Toronto	500	308	62
Vancouver	300	181	60
Montreal	25	10	40
Sudbury	5	2	40
Richmond Hill	15	5	33
Kitchener	50	16	32
Fredericton	25	8	32
Edmonton	75	23	31
Hamilton	50	15	30
St. Catharines	50	15	30
Winnipeg	50	10	20
Saskatoon	35	7	20
London	25	5	20
Ottawa	100	7	7
Orillia	25	0	0
Halifax	10	0	0
Brandon	5	0	0
General	150	35	23
GOAL	1500	656	44

labor Challenge #19 Nov 1970

7,000 votes for Léger

LSO used campaign to fight war measures

by John Riddell

There was a torrent of applause from the crowd of 2,000 when Manon Léger stood up to speak at the Montreal teach-in on the War Measures Act, October 28.

It was recognition of the importance of her candidacy for mayor of Montreal in helping to rally the opposition to the war measures, and the leading role of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, through her campaign, in beginning to reestablish democratic rights abolished or called into question by the police state law.

The imposition of war measures brought political life to a temporary standstill in the campuses and on the streets of Montreal. For the Léger campaign however, it was the signal to move into high gear, into an intesive week of campaigning that was to lead up to a picket of the "Black Watch" army barracks in downtown Montreal October 24.

Sweeping indiscriminately across the left, the war measures dealt the LSO campaign heavy blows. Penny Simpson, treasurer of the campaign, and Arthur Young, publicity director, were among the first arrested. They were not released until the eve of the election. Other supporters homes were raided.

The press reported a police order forbidding possession of political leaflets, and normal means of printing radical literature were blocked. Léger found her campus meetings cancelled, her radio and TV appearances censored, in fact all normal means of political activity called into question.

Léger's response to the War Measures Act, released the day after Laporte's death, was a slashing attack on the law and the complicity of Mayor Drapeau in its imposition. She termed the act "a ferocious assault against the entire labor movement, student movement, and the Québécois nation."

A vote for Léger, the statement continued, is a vote "against the War Measures Act, against the occupation of Quebec, for freedom to all victims of the act and for liberation of Quebec."

It was distributed on many Montreal campuses, where it was the first leaflet against the War Measures Act to be circulated.

Victor in defeat! Manon Léger, socialist mayoralty candidate, was applauded vigorously when she addressed teach-in on War Measures Act at the Université de Montréal.

Distribution of the main election leaflet proceeded the following week. "City hall to the wage-earners," it read. "For a French Montreal in an independent and socialist Quebec. For the democratic right of Montrealers to run their own affairs."

Election meetings were organized, despite some continuing administration obstruction, in both French and English campuses. The general public was invited to hear Manon Léger at an open "press conference" at the campaign headquarters.

While other publications suffered an extensive de facto censorship, La Lutte Ouvriere, whose editor, Arthur Young, was still imprisoned, came out October 23 with a full scale attack on the war measures law and an appeal for the struggle for democratic rights.

"Immediate withdrawal of federal troops," the front-page headline read. "Revoke the war measures law. Free the detained. End police repression. End this situation which is making a farce of the civic elections. End terrorism by giving Québécois their democratic rights. Vote against the repression — vote FRAP and Léger!"

Ten thousand copies of the special issue have been distributed on campuses, at meetings, in the streets.

The next day, soldiers on guard outside the "Black Watch" barracks at Bleury and Ontario streets were surprised to find the armories being picketed by LSO members carrying signs demanding the withdrawal of federal troops, and an end to police repression. They were distributing La Lutte Ouvriere and Leger election literature to passers-by.

After about an hour the police arrived and ordered seven Léger supporters off to the station. But they were not held under the War Measures Act — another important precedent established by the campaign. After two hours detention, they were informed they were to be charged only under an obscure by-law forbidding the wearing of partisan ribbons, colors or banners within a week of the election.

Manon Léger's vote of 7,180 attracted considerable notice — it was a quarter of the total distributed among five opposition mayoralty candidates, one of whom was a fairly well-known bourgeois politician.

"It was a real farce," Léger commented election night. "Mayor Drapeau won by conducting a campaign of terror. He can't claim these elections give him any democratic mandate.

"As for our campaign? We got the socialist alternative better known to workers and students of this city.

"We made our campaign against the War Measures Act the focus of my candidacy, explaining the crisis, voicing the call for repeal of the act, and helping to reestablish in action our democratic rights. This is why our campaign was so vital, and so successful."

labor Challenge

Why the war measures?

by Arthur Young

MONTREAL — What moved the Trudeau government to invoke the dictatorial War Measures Act?

It was not humanitarian considerations. Ottawa's abrupt intervention virtually ensured the death of Pierre Laporte.

In proclaiming the Act, the government declared that Canada was on the verge of an insurrection. Trudeau and others have argued this in parliament. Jean Marchand, one of his leading ministers, went even further, claiming that the Front de Libération du Québec "is able. . .to make life impossible in the province of Quebec."

He alluded to its presence in "every place where important decisions are taken" in Quebec. In Vancouver, he charged that the Front d'Action Politique (FRAP), the labor-backed opposition to Mayor Drapeau in the Montreal election, was but a front for the FLQ.

Drapeau, for his part, spoke of a "provisional government" that was to seize power from Quebec premier Bourassa, thereby paving the way for a revolutionary regime. Trudeau buttressed his statement.

However, no evidence has been produced to support these wild allegations. This is not surprising, for no evidence exists. The governments are thrashing about for excuses, while covering up their real motives for invoking the War Measures Act.

A firm determination moved Trudeau the federal cabinet. They would not yield to the FLQ, whatever the price. To do so would be to weaken the political authority of the central government.

Freeing the political prisoners as demanded by the FLQ would be a victory for the FLQ and invite further terrorist actions of this character. Even more important for Ottawa was the fact that revolutionary terrorism is spreading on a world scale. The Canadian ruling class, conscious of its international responsibilities, agreed with its imperialist partners that no deals could be made. Quebec was to provide the example for the world of this new hard-line approach.

The uppermost consideration in the strategy of Trudeau and Bourassa alike throughout the crisis was to refuse to grant the FLQ demands, to stall for time, and to step up police raids and arrests, hoping to discover the FLQ hideouts.

But this strategy reckoned without the impact in Quebec of public reaction to the kidnappings. Profound nationalist feeling was inclined to regard the crisis as a Quebec problem, to be dealt with by the Québécois, not the federal government. Moreover, the FLQ Manifesto, which articulated many popular grievances against the Anglo-Canadian Establishment, met a favorable response from many Québécois. Instead of showing hostility to the FLQ, they seized the occasion to express their disgust with the status quo.

The FRAP, the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, substantial labor organizations representing thousands of working people, pronounced themselves in favor of the political aims of the FLQ — national liberation, workers power. Meetings protesting the government's "no-concessions" stand were held in many schools and colleges. It is said that over half the callers to the "hot-line" radio shows in this period blasted the government's stand.

A mass disquiet was beginning.

The authorities, recalling the massive demonstrations against Bill 63 last year, wondered how they could crush the militant nationalist movement if it took to the streets and at the same time deal with the FLQ.

The dramatic second kidnapping, of Pierre Laporte, enormously increased the onus on the Quebec government to act in the crisis, and placed it under intolerable pressure to yield to the FLQ demands. All three trade union federations, leading professors, Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque, newspaper publisher Claude Ryan and numerous other influential figures all came out in favor of negotiating with the FLQ.

There can be no doubt that their demands expressed the sentiment of the **overwhelming majority of Québécois. The** Quebec government was becoming thoroughly isolated and discreditied among the Quebec population. The Bourassa cabinet was split, with perhaps the majority wishing to negotiate Laporte's release. Ryan, who was in a position to know, says he thought the Bourassa government might disintegrate. He and his friends wanted to save it.

Trudeau decided to strike decisively. By deliberately escalating the crisis, he could force the Bourassa cabinet back into line and retake complete hold of the situation.

A secondary consideration in Ottawa's thinking was that quick action in the crisis could be used to strike a blow at the entire Quebec nationalist and left movement. Trudeau was encouraged in this by Mayor Drapeau, who was seriously worried by the challenge he was facing from the FRAP in the civic election campaign. Bourassa and the Liberals, too, had every reason to welcome a hard blow at FRAP and the independentists.

And so, the atmosphere having been carefully prepared by the entry of troops into Ottawa on October 12 (two days after Laporte's kidnapping), and into Montreal on October 15, an "apprehended insurrection" was discovered simultaneously by the Montreal and Quebec City authorities early in the morning of October 16.

No doubt they hoped, through the massive police-military repression, to find and liquidate the FLQ. They also hoped, through the jailing of the left and the de facto censorship of all the news media, to end any possibility of a mass nationalist movement taking to the streets during the crisis, and to lay the basis for more enduring legislation which could be used in future to harass, intimidate and repress the independentists.

But, despite the massive manhunt, the police have yet to find James Cross. They have yet to break up any of the FLQ cells. The government's credibility has been damaged.

In the process, the Quebec government has been decisively weakened. In time of crisis, its impotence as an independent force was bared for all to see; the decisive moves came from the federal government and its army which now occupied the nation. What better expression of Quebec's oppression!

However, the crisis has weakened the left, certainly in the short term. Drapeau succeeded in preventing FRAP from gaining even a single seat on the Montreal council; many radicals are still jailed. The adventurism of the FLQ has given the government a perfect excuse to enact its new repressive legislation.

For the bourgeoisie, Quebec is a giant powderkeg. Only the massive, profound contradictions flowing from the national oppression of the Québécois, could explain how an incident as bizarre as these two kidnappings could blow up into a crisis of such immense proportions.

Editor jailed for week, quer on views

by Arthur Young

"What do you think of our society?"

"What does socialism mean?"

"You can't change human nature; there'll always be criminals and lazy people who don't want to work."

"If you're a socialist, then do you support the FLQ?"

I was in a small room talking to two well-dressed men. It was the kind of political discussion every socialist has had with hundreds of people. With one exception.

My two interlocutors were cops, and they'd started the conversation by telling me if they weren't satisfied with my answers, I could stay in jail for three months. "The Bill of Rights no longer exists," one of them had loudly proclaimed.

I had already been in jail several days before this discussion. And I was to spend several more days behind bars — a week in all, supposedly on suspicion of supporting the FLQ.

But in this, the only time the police took the trouble to question me, they asked only a few perfunctory questions about the FLQ. Like what did I think of the terrorists. They did not even bother to ask what I was doing when the kidnappings took place.

It was hardly necessary for the cops to throw me in jail for a week and seize my personal papers to find out what my political views are. They could have bought, for one dollar, a year's subscription to La Lutte Ouvrière, the newspaper which I edit, to find out that I am a revolutionary socialist opposed to individual terrorism.

There were some four hundred of us, political prisoners, and we compared notes. Did the police really think that Michel Chartrand, head of the Montreal CNTU labor council (65,000 affiliate members) was an FLQ terrorist? Gaston Miron, one of Quebec's leading poets? Pauline Julien, internationally-known chansonnière? They were all behind bars like me. So were numerous journalists, antiwar Vietnamese, Parti Québécois leaders and candidates, and two FRAP candidates.

It was Friday morning, October 16, that Penny Simpson and I were woken by the door buzzer, ringing imperiously at 5 a.m. We opened the door, and four cops barged in, searching every corner of our room.

They soon filled their car trunk with mounds of papers and books. One unfortunate, lowest in rank, got assigned to inspecting my large library, looking at every page of every book — searching for machine guns, no doubt.

An incredible hubbub at the police station. In the basement, hundreds of people are being booked, fingerprinted, photographed and shipped upstairs. Penny and I recognize many. My protests against being fingerprinted gain me the threat of having my fingers broken. But even this short protest holds up the assembly-line processing of the political prisoners.

Upstairs, in a common cell with dozens of others, we begin to get the picture. Almost everybody was arrested at the same time. The cops had prepared the operation for days. Several reported they awoke with a flashlight shining in their eyes and a gun pointed at their head.

I was to pass a week behind bars, in a tiny cell which was only large enough to let me take four steps. Only rarely was I let out for a "recreation" period — a half hour walk with other prisoners in the corridor outside my cell.

The spirit of solidarity rapidly grew among the 24 prisoners in my cell block. Sharing everything was the norm. The brief "recreation" periods became the moment for intense political discussions among all of us: socialists, students, independentists, unionists, and non-politicals picked up by mistake.

As political prisoners, we got special treatment — worse than convicted criminals. No newspapers. For days no showers, no shaves, no cigarettes, no pen or paper. The radio played during every waking hour — but was turned off promptly just before every news broadcast. Guards were forbidden to give us any news. And on the outside, no one could find out who was in jail.

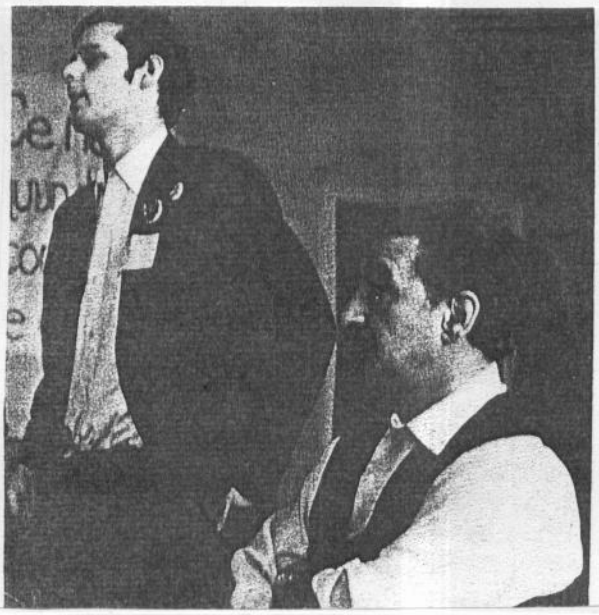
After a few days, conditions began to improve. They finally even offered to contact a friend for us to tell them where we were. No change of heart by Bourassa or Trudeau, but a response to the growing protests against our arbitrary and unjustified imprisonment.

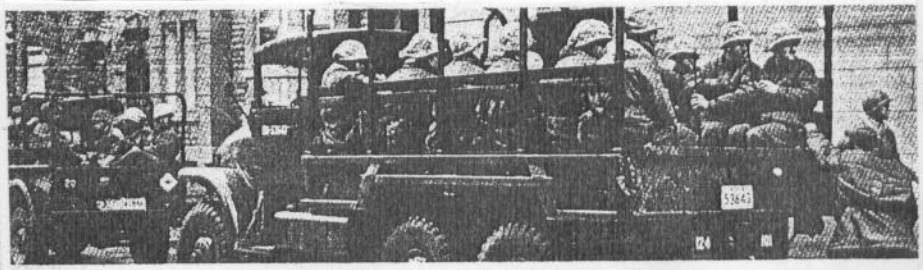
Did the government hope to break our spirit? It certainly failed. The mood among my prison comrades was one of increased determination, of a new solidarity between radicals of differing views, and a new insight for many into the fraud of Canadian "democracy."

I was freed as quickly and secretly as I was arrested. A guard crept silently into my cell in the middle of the night, woke me and spirited me away. I was stripped and searched. My prison diary and a list of names of prison comrades were confiscated.

Within half an hour, I was free again. I had been jailed for a week, in which neither I nor any of the 400 others had seen a judge or lawyer, and was released without charge, without explanation.

Thirteen floors down, I perused the deserted street. It looked more lovely than I had ever seen it before. The young soldier with the machine gun guarding the prison told me to beat it, fast. I did.





The streets of Montreal, election day, October 25, 1970

Art Young, jailed under the War Measures Act, was speaker at socialist youth conference last year. Seated beside him is Michel Chartrand, jailed trade union leader.

labor Challenge #19 Nov 1970

Nov. 13 rallies to demand:

'End repressive laws'

by Harry Kopyto

November 2 — Rallies and demonstrations against the War Measures Act and for an end to all legislation repressing civil liberties will be held in cities across Canada, November 13.

These demonstrations will coincide with a big assembly in Montreal being called by the Comité Québécois pour la Défense des Libertés. The assembly will be the culmination of a series of rallies and teach-ins that are taking place on campuses and community colleges in Quebec.

November 13 was first suggested as the focal point for protest by the Committee for Defense of Democratic Rights, a Saskatoon-based united front group which has enlisted support from the student and labor communities and the NDP.

The Committee has sent out the call to make November 13 the day for unified protest actions to campus organizations, student councils and newspapers, antiwar committees and other concerned groups.

Student leaders from universities across Canada meeting in Winnipeg November 1 called for making November 13 a cross-country day of protest against the War Measures Act.

Larry Brown, president of the Saskatoon Association of Students, presented the motion to the gathering.

The wave of protests against the War Measures Act, which declined after Laporte's assassination, is re-emerging stronger and broader than ever. Teach-ins and protest rallies are helping to cut across the Canadian government's hysterical campaign to build unanimity for its oppressive policies in Quebec and to justify the invocation of the War Measures Act.

The Waffle, the left current in the NDP, has moved out boldly against the War Measures Act. In Toronto, a Waffle rally of over 200 on October 27 endorsed a call by Jim Laxer, a prominent Waffler, to campaign against the War Measures Act and for the right of Quebec to determine its own future.

A Waffle rally in Toronto today attracted about 700 to protest the Act and any subsequent "deoderized" versions of it.

Mel Watkins, well-known Waffle leader, announced the November 13 day of protest to the enthusiastic crowd and indicated that the Waffle would build protest actions on that date.

In Vancouver, the New Democratic Party area council initiated a meeting October 22 to oppose the War Measures Act. It established a Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties, which is projecting a public rally at the court house against all repressive legislation. Clair Culhane, prominent antiwar activist, is chairwoman of the committee; Nic Shugalo is organizer.

On Saturday October 31, the week-old committee mobilized over 700 to protest the War Measures Act.

Speakers included an alderman, an NDP MLA, trade union, Métis, and women's liberation representatives. Art Olson, fired from his teaching job for opposing a pro-War Measures Act telegram circulated by his principal amongst the students, called the Act racist, referring to its use against Japanese-Canadians on the West Coast during World War Two.

The rally was described by its chairwoman Clair Culhane as "phase one" of its campaign against the Act and any new repressive legislation.

In St. Catharines, Ont., the Peninsula Civil Rights Committee has united prominent unionists, NDP supporters and civil libertarians to oppose the War Measures Act.

In Toronto, the Law Union, an association of lawyers, law school faculty and law students which had organized a rally of 500 to protest the War Measures Act immediately after it was announced, has issued a cross-country petition calling for the immediate revocation of the Act and opposition to any new repressive legislation which might follow its revocation. Already endorsed by a wide array of public figures such as Andrew Brewin, Laurier LaPierre, Gad Horowitz and Gil Levine, the petition also calls "on Canadians from all walks of life to protest this wholly unwarranted abrogation of our democratic rights. Canadians must indicate publicly and in massive numbers that their civil liberties cannot be denied."

Other groups of civil liberties defenders including the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, academics, artists, writers, political figures, labor leaders and students have already gone on record against the Act.

With the government moving rapidly to pass its new repressive legislation, the protests that are being called for November 13 can become the focal point for broad and effective opposition to police state bills.

Law Union petition

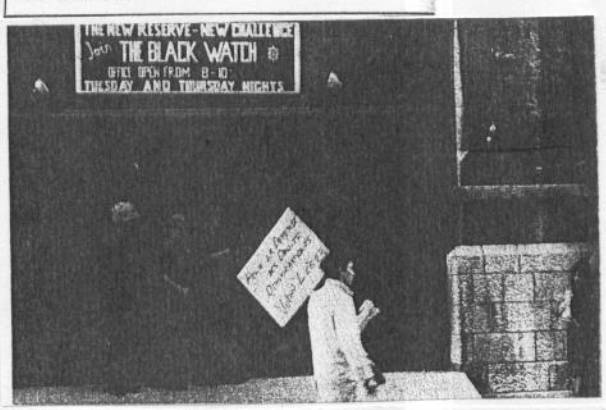
The following is the text of the petition initiated by the Law Union, c/o Bill Dyer, 124 Carlton St., Apt. 33, Toronto.

We, the undersigned, protest the invocation of the War Measures Act by the Canadian government.

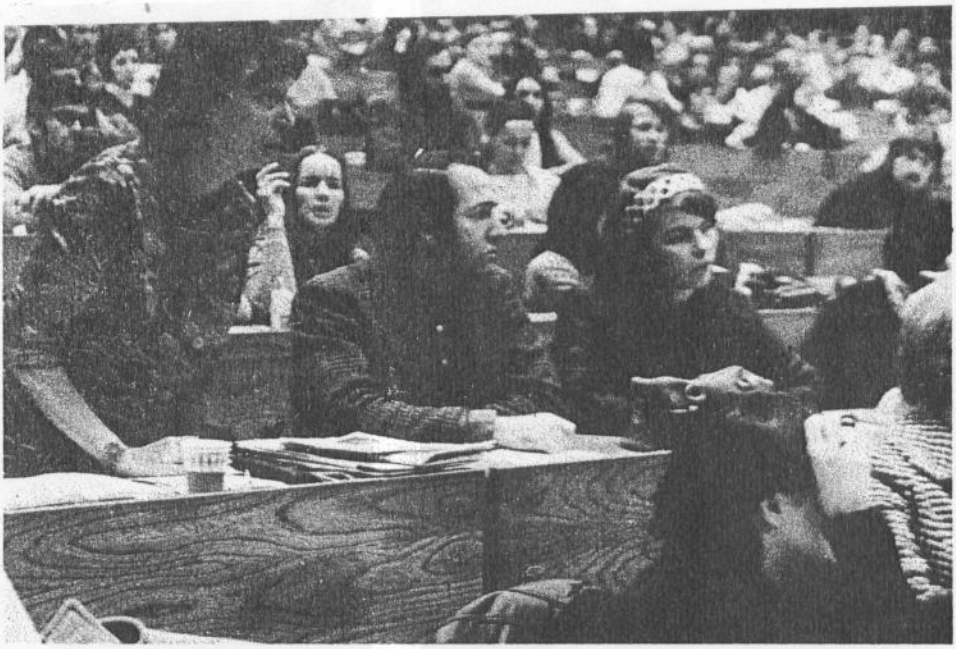
The conditions necessary for the imposition of an Act which suspends the civil liberties of all Canadians did not exist nor do they exist now.

We call for the immediate revocation of the War Measures Act. We oppose any new repressive legislation which might follow its revocation.

We, therefore, call on Canadians from all walks of life to protest this wholly unwarranted abrogation of our democratic rights. Canadians must indicate publicly and in massive numbers that their civil liberties cannot be denied.



Picketing Black Watch armories in occupied Montreal. At right, LSO mayoralty candidate Manon Leger. Sign reads: "Defend democratic rights — vote Leger."



Simonne Chartrand speaks out at the Montreal teach-in. Her husband Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal CNTU, is among those still held without charge under the act.

Quebec defense launched at U of Montreal teach-in

by Phil Courneyeur

MONTREAL, October 28 — Two thousand students, faculty and workers rallied at the University of Montreal tonight against the War Measures Act.

The teach-in, organized by the Comité Québécois pour la Défense des Libertés (CQDL) showed the strength and breadth of the mounting protest.

The Parti Québécois, the three trade union federations, FRAP, most CEGEPs and campuses around Montreal, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Ligue des Jeunes socialistes and many other organizations either participated or had representatives present.

The teach-in succeeded in focusing the massive opposition in Quebec in support of actions — the building of a mass defense movement in the schools, campuses and unions against the repression. Until the teach-in most of the protests had been verbal.

The three main trade union federations had formed a Front Commun (joint front) immediately after the army occupation. They held a large assembly in Quebec City October 21 which agreed to launch a publicity campaign calling for the repeal of the War Measures Act and the release of the prisoners detained under the Act.

The main voice for the mounting opposition has been the trade union weekly Québec-Presse. For three weeks Québec-Presse campaigned against the army invasion, exposed the repression, published lists of those arrested, denounced the sham of the elections, and served as a voice for the FRAP campaign.

At the U of M teach-in Arthur Young, the editor of La Lutte Ouvrière, imprisoned for a week under the law, called on the labor movement to provide the means for Québec-Presse to become a daily, if only for the duration of the crisis.

The audience repeatedly applauded Young when he appealed: "Such a meeting as this would not have been possible a week ago. The situation is changing. The government is on the defensive.

"But we have to act now. We can't protect ourselves by shutting up. We've heard a lot of orators tonight, but all too few organizers. Tomorrow and in the next few days we have to go out and organize defense committees in all the schools and campuses."

The teach-in agreed to a recommendation from the CQDL organizers that local units of the CQDL be built throughout the city. But the appeal for a daily Québec-Presse was lost amidst reports by the Confderation of National Trade Unions that it was buying T.V. and radio time, and ads in the Establishment press calling for the repeal of the War Measures Act.

Over 100 people are still behind bars in Quebec, despite Trudeau's admission that almost all of them are innocent and will not be charged. The defense of civil rights needs to be organized. The Comité Québécois pour la Défense des Libertés can play an important role in turning the tide against repression in Quebec.

NDP firms up Vancouver bid

VANCOUVER — Despite many hesitations expressed right up to the last moment, the New Democratic Party named a candidate for the Vancouver mayoralty at its city convention here October 23. Tony Gargrave, a 44-year-old lawyer and former NDP MLA will contest the city's highest post, together with five NDP candidates for alderman.

Gary Porter, mayoralty candidate of the League for Socialist Action, greeted the NDP entry and announced October 26 that he was withdrawing from the race in favor of Gargrave. Porter will run for alderman along with Mary Trew and Kate Porter for the LSA.

There can be little doubt that the initial impact of the Porter campaign, even given the relatively limited resources and personnel of the League, helped firm up the resolve of NDP activists to present an NDP mayoralty candidate. The LSA had launched its mayoralty campaign after hesitation and doubt began to pervade the city NDP about entering its own candidates. Porter's campaign was covered in all news media. He spoke on radio, cable TV and was interviewed by the press.

Gargrave has already indicated that he aims to run a "low-profile" campaign. He refused to speak at a Vancouver rally against the War Measures Act on this basis.

The lessons of a "low-profile" campaign were clearly drawn in 1969 when Tom Berger, then B.C. NDP leader, did the same thing in a provincial election. By not taking up the serious problems facing the working people — such as Bill 33 and inflation — Berger managed to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory.

If the powerful potential of the NDP civic campaign is to be realized, Vancouver New Democrats must insist that Gargrave speak out in defense of the many good planks in the NDP's city platform.

"The NDP, with its direct ties to the labor movement and its broad support among working people in Vancouver, can pose a powerful challenge to big business and real estate control over city hall," Porter said in his statement October 26.

"But the LSA aldermanic campaign has a special contribution to make. Our campaign will give a voice to the student, antiwar and women's liberation movement; it will present the alternative of a rounded socialist program. No other campaign will do that. In that sense we see our campaign as complementary to the NDP campaign — providing Vancouver electors with a full labor and socialist alternative on December 9."

Gary Porter of LSA now running for alderman.

Candidate for mayoralty heads Hamilton NDP slate

by John Steele

HAMILTON — The New Democratic Party is making a serious bid for election in the upcoming civic elections here December 7.

Its municipal slate is headed by Bill Freeman, a 32-year-old graduate student and executive member of the Hamilton Area NDP Council.

The party's slate is not complete. It will contest 11 of the 21 city council seats. Five candidates are projected for the 16 school trustee positions.

Mayoralty candidate Freeman told Labor Challenge that the decision to enter municipal politics was taken after a Hamilton area NDP convention in 1969. It was a "basic ideological decision" designed to "get away from personality campaigns," he said.

He added that while he was strongly in favor of a full slate," the majority in the party had questioned the availability of money and "credible" candidates.

The NDP campaign would turn on "gut issues" like housing, pollution, rapid transit, welfare, community organizing, and the "maladministration" of the present city government headed by Liberal Mayor Vic Copps, Freeman said.

"Our policies are geared to the trade unions, the unorganized and the poor, the average and low income groups, not business — although we are not anti-business," he stated.

"Big business is tremendously powerful on the municipal level. . .I am for a government that will represent the people who are not represented, for example the poor."

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Indian program for sovereignty

by Dick Fidler

(from Labor Challenge, November 1970)

Elsie Knott, chief of the Ojibwa Indians at Curve Lake, near Peterborough, Ontario, held aloft a copy of the document outlining the federal government's new Indian policy, and put a match to it. “This will show Mr. Trudeau what we think of the White Paper," she declared to a crowd of nearly 1000 Indian onlookers. She then joined other band members in dancing on the ashes.

An embarrassed guest at the pow-wow, Hugh Faulkner, the local Liberal MP and deputy speaker of the House of Commons, tried to dismiss the incident. "My impression was that it was done in the spirit of good fun," he told reporters.

Good fun? The ceremony at Curve Lake last month — a similar performance took place a few months earlier in Manitoba in the presence of NDP premier Ed Schreyer and the Indian Affairs minister — was yet another expression of the angry opposition among Canada's Indians to Ottawa's plans to assimilate them, its "blueprint for genocide," as Native leaders term the White Paper.

The White Paper, released in June 1969, advocated scrapping the treaties, the basis of Indian rights. It proposed to dump federal government responsibility for services like free health care and education, as provided in the treaties, onto the provinces, many of which don't supply such services even to their white citizens. The White Paper outlined the Trudeau government's plans to give up Ottawa's trusteeship of Indian lands, thus opening them up to taxation, private exploitation and sale. Most ominous of all, the White Paper proposed to abolish the Indians' legal status as a distinct people with their own rights, traditions, customs and outlook.

Shocked and angered at Ottawa's blatant betrayal of its treaty obligations and longstanding promises, the Indians have been mobilizing over the last year against the White Paper. On June 4 this year, close to 200 Indian leaders from coast to coast, members of the National Indian Brotherhood, assembled in a parliamentary committee room in Ottawa to present the Trudeau cabinet with Citizens Plus — their "Red Paper" — a ounter-program to the White Paper based on the concept of Indian nationhood and sovereignty and elaborated in the course of today's struggles of the Red Power movement,

Point by point, the Red Paper answers the White Paper.

Indian Status: The White Paper labels as "discrimination" treaty recognition of the Native peoples' special status and rights. Indians, it says, must now give up their particular identity; they must, in the words of Prime Minister Trudeau, "become Canadians as all other Canadians."

Not so, declare the chiefs. "The legal definition of registered Indians must remain. If one of our registered brothers chooses, he may renounce his Indian status, become 'enfranchised,' receive his share of the funds of the tribe, and seek admission to ordinary Canadian society. But most Indians prefer to remain Indians."

Treaty Rights: The government's claim that Indians should be treated as "all Canadians" is an attempt to evade its special responsibility to the Native people, the Red Paper charges. In return for surrendering their lands to the Crown, the Indians were pledged important benefits. These included reserve lands for their sole use, and "assistance in the social, economic and cultural development of the reserves."

These treaty promises have been ignored or violated all down the line by every succeeding government.

The Red Paper argues that far from rejecting these Native rights, the government must "incorporate the treaties... In an amendment to the Canadian constitution" containing "a reaffirmation of the treaties and an undertaking by the government to abide by the treaties."

Once this is done, a mutually representative claims commission could update or modernize the treaties according to the intent and spirit of the Indian leaders who originally negotiated them, and "not the precise letter of a foreign language. Treaties that run forever must have room for the changes in the conditions of life."

Thus, a promise to provide teachers should today be interpreted as a government guarantee of free education at all levels; a promise to provide a medicine chest means "that Indians should now receive free medical, hospital and dental care"; and government commitments to supply "machinery and livestock" today mean active encouragement of economic development of Indian lands.

In addition, the government must negotiate compensation for that half of the Indian population who lost their lands without signing treaties.

Indian Lands: In a typical passage, Ottawa's White Paper states that "control of Indians lands should be transferred to Indian people." But, notes the Red Paper, these lands already belong to the Indians; what the government proposes by its nice-sounding phrases is to make Indian lands available for taxation and sale like other land.

The Red Paper states: "We are opposed to any system of allotment that would give individuals ownership with rights to sell. The land "is held in trust for the common use and benefit of the tribe. The land must never be sold, mortgaged or taxed" because, as Indians say, "the true owners of the land are not yet born."

The White Paper, the chiefs indignantly charge, is nothing less than "a scheme whereby within a generation or shortly after the proposed Indian lands act expires

our people would be left without land and consequently the future generation would be condemned to the despair and ugly spectre of urban poverty in ghettos."

What is needed instead is economic development of Indian lands — and quickly. "Some reserves now have an agricultural economic base adequate to support only one sixth the Indian population and the prediction is that by 1980 the base will support only one tenth the Indian population."

Indian Act: The Red Paper opposes repeal of the Indian Act. This paternalistic legislation, which gives the minister of Indian Affairs virtually unlimited powers, should of course be changed, it says, but only once the treaties question has been settled, for the Indian Act is the legal framework for many of Ottawa's responsibilities toward the Indians. The Indian Affairs branch should be reduced in size to serve mainly as the keeper of the Queen's promise, the treaties and the lands. It should channel federal funds to the tribes or to the provincial Native association depending on circumstances."

Local self-government must be the guiding principle, the Red Paper affirms. Transfer of federal services to the provinces is opposed "because the provincial and federal governments can make agreements without consulting Indian tribal councils. Instead, funds for education, for instance, "should be offered to the tribal councils. Then the tribe can decide whether it will operate schools itself or make contracts with nearby public schools for places for some or all of its students. These contracts would provide for Indian voice and vote in the operation of those schools."

What the Indians are demanding in the Red Paper, as in countless actions across the country in defense of their rights, is the right and the power to determine their own destiny, in accordance with their needs as a sovereign people. But is the Trudeau government willing to concede this demand?

One of the most invidious aspects of the government's White Paper is its hypocritical liberal phraseology — its subtle but nonetheless clear insinuation that by depriving the Indian people of their rights (they're not rights, but "discrimination" in the White Paper, of course), Ottawa is giving them equal status with "all other Canadians." But Indians are not demanding "equality." They want independence.

Ottawa's callous indifference toward the Indian viewpoint is indicative. The White Paper, aptly named, is written for whites. In Trudeau's view, it is the white majority, not the Indians, who will decide the Indians' fate. That is why, immediately after the Indian leaders' presentation of their Red Paper, he told a Toronto newspaper that "special status" for Indians and Eskimos would only be given if "the Canadian people" were agreeable.

And that is why the government, without waiting for the Indian response to its proposals last year, began immediately to implement them with corresponding

changes in the Indian Affairs budget, the unilateral appointment of a (white) claims commissioner, a high-powered public relations program to sell the White Paper and actual steps to transfer control of Indian education to the provincial governments.

An additional reason why the government opposes Indian self-determination was spelled out by Indian Affairs Minister Chretien in recent remarks about the Brantford Six Nations Confederacy's declaration of sovereignty: "They want to form a country within a country. But, we have said to the people of Quebec that it was not possible to have two countries within one. And now we will not accept three countries within one."

These forked-tongue declarations don't fool the Indians, of course. They've taken to calling Trudeau by a name which, freely translated, means "Smart Snake."

In Ottawa, however, the chiefs spoke to the government in respectful tones; they went out of their way to express faith in the government's goodwill. The Red Paper's prose is restrained. But at issue are two fundamentally conflicting approaches, two contrasting programs. And the Red Power struggle is escalating as time runs short for Canada's Native people.

What will be the outcome? The chiefs indicated their own uneasiness when they warned Trudeau: "If for much longer the rights are not noticed, needs not met, or aspirations not fulfilled, then no one — especially having regard to developments all over the globe — can be assured that the rank and file will continue to accept such pacific conduct from its leaders."

=== start BOX photo captions ===

Photo captionss from *The First Citizen*

Some of the 200 Indian leaders who assembled in an Ottawa parliament committee room on June 4. They are presenting the National Indian Brotherhood's "Red Paper" — a counter-program to Ottawa's "White Paper."

The federal cabinet impatiently hears what the spokesmen of the Native peoples think of their new policies, condemned all down the line as a "blueprint for genocide."

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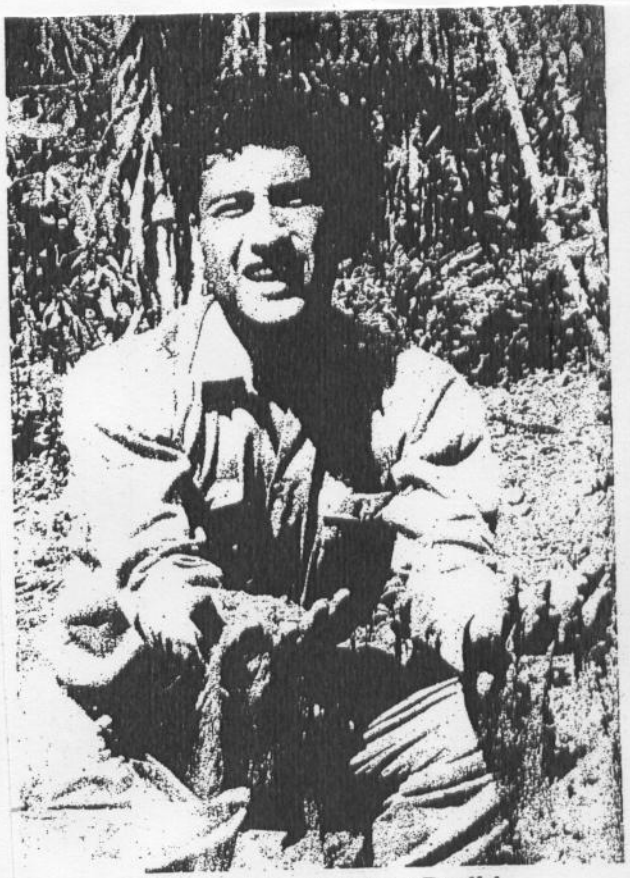
Béjar, Gadea, Blanco

INTERVIEW WITH JAILED PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

(*Labor Challenge*, March 9, 1970)



Hugo Blanco: Land or Death!

labor Challenge
#19 Nov 1970

Blanco on Latin America

To win, we must reach the masses

#28-Mar 1971

labor Challenge

Hugo Blanco on strategy for workers' power

Socialist strategy: an interview

To win, we must reach the masses

By Hugo Blanco

(From Labor Challenge*, Nov. 1970)*

Under the title. "Hugo Blanco Analyzes the Crisis in the Revolution." the following article appeared in the September 21 issue of Vea y Lea*, a widely circulated weekly magazine published in Venezuela.*

As an outcome to the failure of many guerrilla campaigns to achieve their objectives, Latin America is going through a welcome stage of discussing the best roads to liberation.

But the lines being discussed are not new. No matter in what novel forms they are clothed, we can still recognise the old positions of left movements throughout the world.

One line is *reformism*. This is represented by the pro-Moscow Communist parties and like-minded groupings. They hold the positions that distinguished the reformism of the Second International and of all periods.

The reformists' method for changing society is based on making choices within the bourgeois system in order to obtain reforms which, as they see it, will lead to our liberation. The axis of their activity is not mobilizing the masses, but supporting sectors of the bourgeoisie that they consider 'progressive.'

The reformists' participation in elections as well as their capitulation to regimes like the present military junta in Peru are based on their confidence that if properly supported these sections of the bourgeoisie will carry out increasingly deep-cutting reforms that will lead to socialism.

The reformists sometimes make use of mass mobilizations. However, they do not stimulate the masses toward independent action but toward support or reinforcement of some sector of the bourgeoisie, some opportunist candidate, or some "progressive" military officer.

Contempt for masses

They promote illusions in parliamentary democracy. Their participation in elections does not differ essentially from that of bourgeois candidates. They give the masses the idea that by voting for the candidates they list, the people can solve all their problems.

As the reformists see it, hiding the truth is an "intelligent tactic." They think that by doing this they are fooling the enemy, while in reality it is the masses they are deceiving.

In the recent period the failures of the guerrillas and the reformist measures taken by governments like the one in Peru have served to reinforce the reformist current somewhat. Unfortunately, Companero Fidel has helped to strengthen it by his support to the military junta currently entrusted with defending the capitalist system in Peru.

Another recognizable line is *ultraleftism*. This takes the form of glorification of urban or rural guerrilla warfare *(guerrillismo)* and various types of terrorism. The ultraleftists engage in all these activities without any regard for the mass movement.

A false interpretation of the Cuban revolution, the discrediting of reformism, and the weakness or absence of Marxist parties were the causes that gave rise to this current. Its essential social base is the middle class, especially desperate student elements.

The ultraleftists have a profound contempt for the mass movement. Because they have arrived at revolutionary conceptions they consider themselves far above the rest of the people; they see themselves as the saviors, as the messiahs of the people.

The third line is *our road.* It is not a novelty (the other two are not either). Our line is a development of the old Marxist conception that "the emancipation of the workers will be the achievement of the workers themselves." We do not believe that the emancipation of the workers will be the achievement of "progressive" elements of the bourgeoisie, or members of parliament, or military officers reforming the system.

Nor do we believe that the workers will be emancipated by a group of courageous fighters making the revolution for the people, whose only role would be to "support" or "reinforce" the revolutionary action of a group of supermen. We believe that the masses will emancipate themselves.

We know that the masses are now at a low level of struggle but we are certain that this level will rise gradually until they attain power.

We believe that our activity as revolutionists must be based on the present level of consciousness, organization, and struggle of the masses; that our task lies in taking the masses progressively up the ladder leading to the conquest of power and building socialism.

Our roots in the masses, in the working class, or the peasants and students and other sectors, give us an awareness of their most deeply felt aspirations at the moment, their organizational forms, and their methods of fighting. This is where we start from. But this does not mean capitulating to spontaneism. From the start, no matter how low the level of the masses, we stress the importance of direct, independent action without relying on any other force but the mobilized masses.

Raise consciousness

No matter how modest the victories that are won, we use them to demonstrate the effectiveness of mobilization by the masses. Every victory is exploited to raise the consciousness of the masses, to increase their self-confidence, to advance their forms of organization and tactics of struggle. For us such partial victories are not a "solution" to the problems of the people but an impulse to new struggles.

We do not exclude utilizing the tactics the reformists value so highly, such as electoral and legal activities. Nor do we exclude resorting to guerrilla warfare, bombings, or the other favorite activities of the ultraleftists.

The difference between us and the other currents is that we use both kinds of tactics in subordination to mass mobilization, as an outgrowth of the level of the masses.

One example of applying our method was given in the peasant movement of La Convencion and El Cuzco. Here we started off from demands such as observance of the eight-hour day and ending the mistreatment of the peasants. Many times we participated in commissions sent by the masses to present petitions for the establishment of a school.

Throughout the entire process we fought against the reformism of the Communist Party, in comparison with which, at the beginning, our influence was miniscule. Legal and electoral actions were exalted as the ultimate methods by these opportunists.

Learn from reality

When they did not resist mass mobilizations as provocations or adventurism, they oriented them in accordance with their reformist methodology. The victories achieved were attributed to the skill of some leader or some lawyer, or to "conscientious enforcement of the law" by some functionary.

We were branded as provocateurs and agents of imperialism and the landlords.

However, the people can learn from reality and we pointed out the reality to the peasants. We showed them the failure of purely legal activity. We showed them the success of mass mobilization, even though the authorities and the bureaucrats tried to hide it under the legalism with which they covered their retreats. We demonstrated this success later by mobilizations that did not push for enforcement of the laws but overrode the bourgeois anti-peasant laws.

The state apparatus was increasingly exposed as the servant of the exploiters. The peasants moved nearer and nearer to the conviction that they had to arm themselves in order to defend their rights. Our guerrilla movement and the militia

that preceded it emerged as a result of this rise in consciousness. It took form within the mass movement, as its composition indicated. Our guerrillas were peasants, in whose ranks were union leaders elected by the masses.

(The analysis of the peasant struggle in La Convencion including the armed struggle, as well as more extensive explanations of our method and how it differs from the others, are contained in my work *Tierra o Muerte! Venceremos!*, which is soon to be published.)

Certain people construed this development to mean that we Trotskyists had been forced to "abandon our orthodoxy under the pressure of reality," and that we "had come to understand the necessity of armed struggle." That is. as they saw it, we, the followers of the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Committee that directed the taking of power in Russia, the followers of the organizer of the Red Army, had to abandon our "Trotskyist orthodoxy" and come, finally (!) to realize the need for armed struggle.

This interpretation is very instructive; it shows the way the minds of some ultraleftists work. If in some country we work with the masses at a low level of struggle, trying to raise them to a higher one, they think that our consciousness is as low as that of the masses. They think that only preparing for guerrilla warfare (or talking about it) shows that you are convinced of the necessity of armed struggle.

As these ultraleftists see it, the masses count for nothing. It is enough for one person or a group to come to an understanding of the necessity of armed struggle in order to carry it out. Therefore, they think that the fact that we took up arms in 1962 meant that only then had we come to grasp the need for armed struggle.

The masses reach an understanding of the necessity of armed struggle when they see that bourgeois legality is a farce, when they see that the "public" institutions are only instruments of the exploiters, when they see that the majority is for change and that the minority in power refuses to carry it out.

We revolutionists have known all these truths for some time, but the masses are in the process of learning them. Some sections have learned more than others. In addition, the masses are learning how to organize and mobilize themselves, to believe in themselves, to understand that they are capable of doing great things. If they are correctly led in this learning process, they will come to understand that they are capable of taking power into their hands.

The party, that was our weak point in La Convencion. The lack of cadres and the dynamic of the mass movement in which we were caught up blocked us from building the party.

It is not enough to raise transitional slogans in ascending order. You need an organized party to formulate these slogans correctly as befits each case, and to apply them.

Today the enemy is so well organized that even torturing prisoners has been elevated to a science, with specialized institutes for training and theoreticians who teach the art by correspondence.

Facing such highly perfected organizations, it is suicide to deny ourselves the right to organize.

While the mass organizations are important, organizing the enlightened vanguard of the masses, the elements that understand the necessity of a socialist revolution and the method to be followed, is no less important.

It is too simplistic to bring up the negative role played by the CP's *(pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Parties –ed.)* as an argument against the necessity of a party. The Stalinist parties are guided by the reformist and counterrevolutionary ideology of the Soviet bureaucracy, the product of the ebb of the Russian revolution. These parties were subjected to the bureaucratic norms appropriate to the braking role which they have played and continue to play.

The Stalinist parties are one thing, revolutionary parties are quite another. Revolutionary parties are not in the service of the Soviet bureaucracy, but of the revolution. They have the Marxist ideology of revolution and not the Stalinist doctrine of "peaceful coexistence." They practice democratic centralism, not bureaucratic authoritarianism.

If the task of revolutionists is to orient the masses from their present level, the revolutionists must organize to carry out this work. And their organization cannot be a military one; it must be a political one, which will approach trade-union, electoral, and also military problems from the standpoint of mass action within the framework of an overall strategy. A revolutionary organization cannot address itself to only one aspect of the revolution, the military one.

Rates of development differ, diverse transitional slogans can be used, the level of consciousness of the masses varies widely, but there are some general principles that can be pointed out.

We must start from the present level of the masses, raising them through a program of transitional slogans and the most varied forms of mass mobilization toward the struggle for power.

In order to carry out this task scientifically, we must organize in a party operating under the rules of democratic centralism.
(end)

How to stop U.S. textbook takeover

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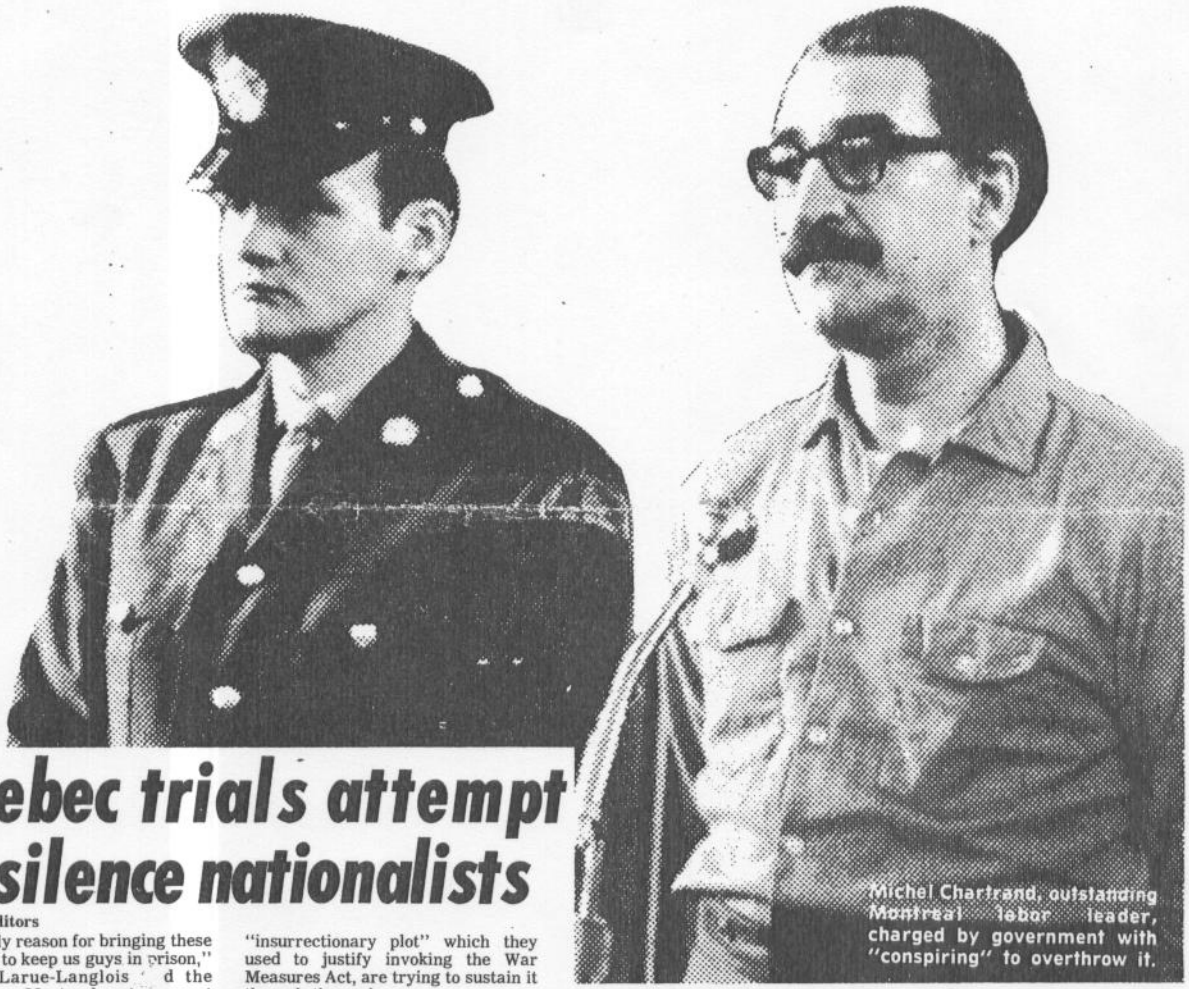
Women's liberation - a socialist view page 7



Michel Chartrand, outstanding Montreal labor leader, charged by government with "conspiring" to overthrow it.

Quebec trials attempt to silence nationalists

by The Editors

"The only reason for bringing these charges is to keep us guys in prison," Jacques Larue-Langlois told the judge in a Montreal police court November 5. "How can you charge guys who have been in prison or organized unions, with conspiracy to overthrow the government, and not be ashamed?"

Larue-Langlois is one of 13 people charged with seditious conspiracy to overthrow the governments of Canada and Quebec by force. The charge carries a maximum penalty of 14 years in prison.

The 13 are among more than 50 political prisoners held and charged under the War Measures Act in Quebec. Most have been charged with membership in the now-outlawed Front de Libération du Québec between January 1, 1968 and October 16, 1970.

Two persons have been charged with "advocating the aims" of the FLQ. If convicted, they could be jailed five years.

The Montreal political trials indicate clearly that the federal and Quebec governments, far from dropping their phony theory of an "insurrectionary plot" which they used to justify invoking the War Measures Act, are trying to sustain it through these charges.

Through drawn-out legal proceedings and possibly long jail sentences, Trudeau and Bourassa hope to remove a significant section of their most radical nationalist and left opposition, while at the same time maintain the witch-hunt atmosphere which will allow them to introduce a series of more permanent repressive measures.

Those accused of seditious conspiracy include Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, and former leader of the Quebec CCF and the Parti Socialiste du Quebec; Pierre Vallieres, author of Nègres Blancs d'Amerique (White Niggers of America); Charles Gagnon, a teacher and former co-defendant of Vallieres in numerous political trials dating back to 1966; and Robert Lemieux, lawyer for Vallieres and Gagnon and defender of many political prisoners in recent years.

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Chartrand speaks from jail

From his cell in the headquarters of the Quebec Provincial Police, Michel Chartrand, Montreal labor leader on trial for "seditious conspiracy," has managed to issue the following tape-recorded message:

"Today, as in the time of Duplessis, when you attack the regime, you are treated as traitor to the country and the State. Mr. Bourassa said it on television: what the youth are seeking is to change the regime in Quebec and not to keep the regime which exists throughout North America.

"The crime of those who are in prison is wanting to get rid of capitalism which has killed hundreds and thousands of people thanks to the international bandits in Washington whose faithful servants are Messrs. Trudeau and Bourassa.

"The basis of the problem is that all these charges (against us) are as foolish as those that Duplessis made against all the officers of the union federation during the Asbestos strikes. The conspiracy which exists is a conspiracy against the economic dictatorship — the tiny minority which governs our economic life and decides to leave unemployed hundreds and thousands of people. That is the root of the problem — it's not a question of new powers, it is a question of changing that government, of getting rid of the economic dictatorship. It's an old story which will be settled some day and sooner than we think."

labor Challenge #20 Nov 1970

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Jacques Larue-Langlois (front rank, left) defendant in Montreal political trials, was chairman of the Vallières-Gagnon Defense Committee which organized the march in defense of political prisoners last fall. Through frameup trials of political activists, government hopes to remove them from circulation and intimidate all nationalist dissenters in Quebec.

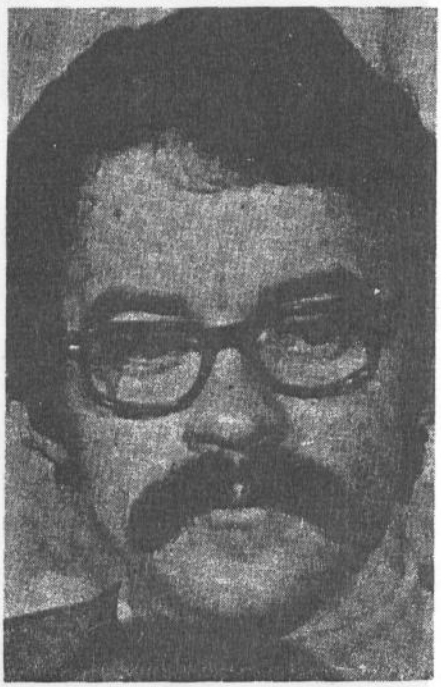
Trials mark new stage in Quebec repression

Continued from page 1

Among the women charged with FLQ membership is Andrée Ferretti, a former vice-president of the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN), a mass independentist party which preceded the formation of the Parti Quebecois.

All those charged have been refused bail and remanded in custody to January, 1971.

Appearing in an improvised court at police headquarters November 5, the leading defendants ridiculed the charge that they had plotted since January 1968 to overthrow the government. Pierre Vallières noted that for most of that time he and Charles Gagnon had been in prison, on charges of inciting through their writings the death of a woman killed by a bomb in a strike-bound factory. Gagnon, who had been acquitted, said the current charges didn't surprise him since "I have already been accused of having incited a bomb to explode."



Charles Gagnon, co-defendant of Vallieres in previous trials, now charged with sedition.

Michel Chartrand said it was "an error" to accuse him of having conspired" since 1968. "I have conspired since 1938, when I began to struggle against the rouges of Taschereau and the bleus of Duplessis! I have fought the governments in all the third parties except Social Credit.

"But where is it that I have been seditious? When I contested the labor code? When I supported the workers of Murdochville and Asbestos? When I denounced the lower court judges who followed to the letter the orders of Duplessis?"

Robert Lemieux denounced the trials as "this shameful game, this nameless buffoonery, this extraordinary farce!" The charges should be quashed, he said, as contrary to human and legal rights. "I want to know of what act, of what omission I am accused. . .If you reject the motion you should be ashamed of yourself," he told the judge.

Lemieux has since smuggled out of prison a 32-page letter to the Quebec Bar and prominent personalities including Trudeau and Bourassa, demanding release from jail, access to his files (seized by police), and vigorous action by the Bar to stop the official harassment of his efforts to defend political prisoners. As to the charge that he engaged in seditious conspiracy while he was defending political prisoners, he says, "this idiotic charge should shake and scandalize everyone concerned with the administration of justice, and the Bar in the first place."

The Montreal trials shift the focal point of the campaign against the repressive laws, the War Measures Act and its successor, to a vigorous struggle to defend these political prisoners. A united campaign must be waged across the country for the dropping of these scandalous frame-up charges. For the governments concerned, the trials are the key expression of their determination to block the aspirations of the Quebecois nationalist movement. They mark a new stage in Trudeau's campaign to intimidate the mass independentist movement and harass and repress its leadership.

The trials indicate the real purpose of the new repressive legislation now before parliament. The emergency powers act underwrites the legal basis of most of the charges against the Montreal political prisoners.

The governments' failure to convict Vallieres and Gagnon of manslaughter and other serious charges throughout repeated legal proceedings since 1966, was due in no small part to the successful defense campaign waged outside the courts. A similar setback for the current repressive campaign is possible and necessary. What is needed is a massive mobilization of opinion, of the trade unions, the New Democratic Party, the civil liberties organizations, the student movement in support of the demand that the government drop the charges against the Montreal political prisoners.

STOP THE REPRESSION NOW!
FREE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!

labor Challenge #20 NOV 1970

NDP's support undercuts protests

Entire left is target of bill

Pierre Vallieres, prominent writer and spokesman in Quebec nationalist movement, jailed once again, this time on frameup charge of "seditious conspiracy."

by Robert Dumont

NOVEMBER 15 — As parliament approaches third reading and final passage of the "temporary emergency powers act," designed to replace the War Measures Act, the Trudeau government chalks up another success in its campaign to create a permanent body of repressive legislation.

The new bill is substantially the same as the War Measures Act. It gives police the same power to arrest and search without warrant. Those arrested can still be held for up to 90 days without even a date for trial being set. The FLQ is still outlawed, and those convicted of membership — even membership before passage of the act — are still subject to five years' imprisonment.

The few modifications which distinguish this bill from the War Measures Act are of a very minor character, designed to confuse and undercut the opposition to the WMA while retaining the Act's essential features.

The immediate purpose of the bill is to provide the legal basis for the extensive frameup charges against the Montreal political prisoners arrested under the War Measures Act. This is the first time in many years that a political movement has been outlawed, making it possible to sentence persons to long jail terms on the sole basis of their views.

But the government's overriding purpose in both the new legislation and the Quebec political trials is to take advantage of the favorable circumstances afforded by the FLQ kidnapping crisis to move against the entire Quebecois nationalist movement. At the same time, it seeks to sustain the witch-hunt atmosphere which can enable it to introduce repressive laws and police measures for future use against the left throughout the country, and ultimately to strike against the broad labor movement.

No one can seriously believe that the Front de Liberation du Quebec is the prime target of this repressive legislation. The governments' stories of an "FLQ plot," an "apprehended insurrection," are today only a threadbare farce. Many of the close to 500 persons arrested under the War Measures Act report they were not even asked about the FLQ. The testimony furnished by FLQ suspects themselves reveals not a cohesive plot by a tightly-disciplined organization but at most the erratic actions of isolated handfuls of youths.

No, the real purpose of the repressive legislation is revealed by the way in which influential forces in the ruling class have been emboldened by it to move against dissenters in general.

In Vanvouver a top military officer calls for banning the Vancouver Liberation Front. In Toronto, the Star demands similar action against Rising Up Angry, a small ultraleft group, and insinuates in various articles that Maoists and the Front de Liberation Populaire should also be brought within the purview of the ban. The Star's "left" editorialists Steven Langdon and David Lewis Stein call on the Waffle group to clean its ranks of revolutionaries.

In Quebec, Justice Minister Choquette threatens to introduce a bill giving him special police powers on a permanent basis; he calls for compulsory identity cards with fingerprints and photos, and threatens direct censorship "if necessary." In Ottawa, Prime Minister Trudeau threatens to enlarge the powers of the RCMP, even to creat a new force of intelligence spies for use against the left.

Farfetched rhetoric? Not at all. Canada has a long history of official attacks on democratic rights.

In 1919, to suppress the Winnipeg General Strike, Section 98 of the Criminal Code was rammed through parliament in record time; it was used to prosecute strike leaders for sedition, to deport those who were foreign-born, and in later years, until its repeal in 1938, it was used to illegalize the Communist party.

The War Measures Act of 1939 was maintained in force until 1954, nine years after the war ended. Prof. James Eayrs, writing in the Toronto Star on November 10, records that "a secret order-in-council, passed on October 6, 1945 under the War Measures Act and kept in force under the Emergency Transitional Powers Act, allowed the minister of justice to hold without trial anyone suspected of acting in a manner prejudicial to the public safety." This ruling was used to arrest dozens of people during the Gouzenko spy scare.

Only a year and a half ago, the Royal Commission on Security recommended many similar measures, including closer restrictions on the views of civil servants, formation of a new security police force, and tighter surveillance of the "separatist" movement in Quebec. It smeared the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Quebec Trotskyist movement, as an "extremist" group which had "infiltrated" the "separatist" movement.

The new "emergency powers act" clearly falls within this pattern of repression. Justice Minister Turner's hysterical attack on the NDP as he introduced the bill in parliament is symptomatic; seldom was the government more vulnerable to exposure by the opposition as a violator of basic democratic rights. The new bill reaffirms the War Measures Act's suspensions of civil liberties — at the very time when all the evidence is accumulating to show that the real target is the entire left and nationalist movement.

How completely indefensible, then, is the NDP's position on this new bill! The NDP voted for the principle of the bill on first and second readings.

It now appears the NDP will vote against it on third reading — not out of principle, however, but simply because its own paltry amendments were defeated.

The NDP's capitulation to the bill and its encouragement of the labor movement to endorse the legislation was a cruel blow to the campaign against the repression in Quebec. The party must reverse course immediately. It must denounce the frameup trials in Quebec. It must mobilize mass demonstrations and other forms of protest across the country against the repression.

Let there be no mistake. In banning the FLQ "or any successor group that advocates crime or force to bring about governmental change" the government has created an extremely dangerous precedent for the suppression of all dissent. The ultimate target of these repressive measures is nothing less than the labor movement, the New Democratic Party, the democratic rights of all Canadians.

labor Challenge
#20 Nov 1970

OFL backs Trudeau in Quebec repression

The top brass of the Ontario Federation of Labor was able to carry its resolution at the Niagara Falls convention endorsing the Trudeau government's Public Order Temporary Measures Act (Bill C-181). But not without a struggle carried by a sizeable opposition bloc of delegates who had coalesced around the Ontario Reform Caucus, and only by sugar-coating its craven words with claims that they had been worked out in close consultation with the same NDP leaders who had earlier opposed the War Measures Act itself, for which Bill C-181 is a substitute.

The reversal of the NDP leadership was effectively used to bludgeon the opposition and confuse the majority of the 1,000 delegates into thinking that, after all, if those who had opposed the original War Measures Act think there is no real danger in the substitute — what basis did they have to think otherwise?

Steel leader Eamon Park, who had opposed the blanket endorsation that the executive had first projected, trotted out the fatuous argument that only by supporting this bill can the government lift the War Measures Act. He and others spread the illusion that the new bill was really only directed against the FLQ, and that the union movement, even though the president of the Montreal CNTU Council is still in jail, has nothing to fear from this repressive legislation.

The opposition tore into this pap, scoring in particular point 6 of the resolution which even went so far as to support the idea of "permanent legislation" to deal with "anticipated insurrection." A leaflet put out in the name of the Ontario Reform Caucus pointed out that the joint executive committees of the united Quebec labor movement thought otherwise — that the new legislation "changes nothing essential" — but the opposition was overwhelmed.

The Toronto leadership of the OFL has already had some second thought about their servile action. When they came to put the Niagara Falls resolution through the Toronto Labor Council the next day, they removed point 6. They will have more thoughts about their treacherous disarming of the struggle against this repressive legislation as the rank and file undergoes new experiences and advances to drive them out of their offices of misleadership.

Quebec committee appeals for united defense actions

Montreal, November 11, 1970

The Comité Québécois pour la Défense des Libertés (Quebec Committee for the Defense of Freedom) calls for solidarity actions throughout the country and, where defense committees have already been created, for:

—Repeal of any special law for Quebec.

—Withdrawal of the Canadian army from Quebec territory.

—An end to the repressive offensive of the military and police.

—Immediate release of the political prisoners.

—Awareness that the real problems are social, economic and political.

In addition, we ask:

—United action of all the committees already formed toward a greater offensive against the repressive forces.

—The regroupment of all those in each locality who are struggling for the same ends.

—A meeting within the shortest possible time of representatives of all the committees across the country in order to elaborate joint actions.

Moreover we wish to receive all available information on the other committees already formed, and the actions which they have undertaken or will undertake.

For the Comité Québécois pour la Défense des Libertés. 738-6631, Salle 1273, Pavillon des Sciences Sociales, Université de Montréal, Montréal. Denis Lambert, staff worker.

labor Challenge #20 Nov 1980

Que. defense tour finds 'growing disbelief' of gov't

by Al Cappe.

"When the War Measures Act was first invoked I was behind Trudeau all the way but now I feel he's put one over on me and I feel threatened."

"I think that big business is the cause of pollution — so I guess that in the eyes of the government I'm an anticapitalist and a danger to our democratic institutions."

"When you balance the death of Laporte with the deaths of workers who have died on construction sites, children who have died in slum fires, and women who have died from backroom abortions, then you start getting the right perspective on the situation."

Penny Simpson, a member of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes who was arrested under the War Measures Act in Montreal and held for six days incommunicado, and myself, her tour organizer, heard these comments many times on our trip through the Atlantic provinces and Ontario. They reflected the sentiment that was growing day by day against the federal government. The Canadian people were reflecting, reconsidering and growing alarmed.

We wanted to consolidate that sentiment and organize the people expressing it into action committees against the Act, the new legislation and the frame-up trials. That was why the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists sent Simpson on a speaking tour.

At all the meetings in Halifax — at Dalhousie, King's College, and St. Mary's University (600 people spoken to in all) — the discussions revealed the growing disbelief in the stories of "FLQ plot," "apprehended insurrection" and "provisional government." There was acceptance that the government was moving against all left and independentist elements.

Someone recounted the story of a high school radical who was held for two hours in Dartmouth jail, the police giving no other reason than the War Measures Act.

More than 60 people showed interest in forming a committee including persons from CJCH radio, the Fourth Estate community newspaper, the New Democratic Youth, and the Halifax Welfare Rights Committee.

Only a handful of the 1,500 students who crowded into the gym at Memorial University of St. John's, Newfoundland to hear Penny's speech opposed the government — but by the end of the meeting and a long, fruitful discussion almost 40 percent were opposed to Trudeau's actions.

One student put it this way: "If Joey Smallwood keeps selling out this province, and does nothing for the 25 percent unemployed, then in a few years he too can expect to have his minister of labor kidnapped." A meeting was called for all those interested in working against the new repressive legislation.

Fredericton also reflected the changing attitudes — and very impressively. One of the leaders of a demonstration held in support of the government attended the meeting of 80 people at University of New Brunswick and was shocked to hear that in her entire stay in jail Simpson was never asked a single question about the FLQ. He, like others at the talk, subsequently reconsidered his position and the committee which had been set up in opposition to the Act found some new members.

The 60 people in Moncton, the 450 in St. Catherines, the 100 in Ottawa, the 125 in Kingston, all revealed the widespread feeling against Trudeau.

Throughout our tour we put forward the call for united fronts of all groups and individuals who wanted to fight for our civil liberties. That struggle is now beginning.

photo by Mintz

Penny Simpson, jailed under War Measures Act, now on speaking tour.

Fourth International urges protests against Ottawa

In a statement issued October 25, the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, condemned the Trudeau government's "wave of repression against the people of Quebec and Canada," and called for international demonstrations of protest.

The Fourth International statement denounces the widespread arrests, raids, and seizures of literature carried out under the War Measures Act, including the arrests of two leaders of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Quebec Trotskyist organization. The scope of the government attack, it says, demonstrates that "the emergency powers are not just aimed at the Front de Libération du Québec," but against all political dissent.

It declares:

"The Fourth International calls for the immediate repeal of this (War Measures) Act and all similar repressive legislation. All political prisoners must be released. All victimization and persecution must stop. Demonstrations for the repeal of the Act and in solidarity with all political prisoners should be organized in as many countries as possible."

The individual terror practised by the FLQ, it notes, is not "the correct means to bring about a mass struggle for an independent socialist Quebec.

"The Canadian government, no doubt with the advice and guidance of the U.S. State Department, has seized the opportunity to exploit the situation for their own reactionary aims. . .

"The same politicians who grieve over the death of Pierre Laporte have nothing to say about the mass killings of the Vietnamese people perpetrated by the American government. They remain silent about the mass murder of the Palestinian refugees in Jordan. They have nothing to say on these questions because they support and are part and parcel of the system of organized violence that is responsible for these atrocities. The attempts by the Canadian government to push back the developing nationalist and socialist movement in Canada through the War Measures Act will not succeed.

"The fact that they have to resort to such measures is a sign of their own political bankruptcy."

advertisement

Contact socialists in your area

BEAVER HARBOUR, N.B., Young Socialists, c/ o Eugene Dugas.

BRANDON, Man., YS, Box 95, Brandon University.

EDMONTON, Alta., League for Socialist Action, YS, 9686 Jasper Ave., 424-7644.

FREDERICTON, N.B., YS, Box 1521.

GUELPH, Ont., YS, c/ o Jim Onyschuk, 350 Paisley Rd., Apt. C, 822-1035

HALIFAX, N.S., c/ o Dave Olson, 2587 Robie St., 422-9836.

HAMILTON, Ont., LSA, YS, 41 King William, Rm. 23, 528-2060.

KITCHENER, Ont., LSA, YS, Box 921.

LONDON, Ont., YS, 349 Maitland St., Apt. 2, 439-5903.

MONTREAL, Que., Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, 861-3018.

ORILLIA, Ont., LSA, Box 835

OTTAWA, Ont., LSA, YS, 788 Somerset W. 232-9945

RICHMOND HILL, Ont., LSA, Box 281.

TORONTO, Ont., LSA, YS, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618 or 364-5908.

SASKATOON, Sask., LSA, YS, Box 704, 242-8175.

SUDBURY, Ont., LSA, YS, Box 691.

ST. CATHARINES, Ont., LSA, Box 622.

ST. JOHN'S, Nfld., YS, c/ o Gord Stone, Box 2063.

VANCOUVER, B.C., LSA, YS, 1208 Granville St., 688-5924.

WINNIPEG, Man., LSA, YS, 211 Graham Ave., 943-7791.

Join the LSA! Join the YS!

labor Challenge
#20 Nov 1970

Ryerson sale

Nationalize the textbook industry

by Carl Fleming

Overwhelming public opposition is developing against the projected sale of Ryerson Press, Canada's oldest publishing firm, and one of the four largest textbook publishers, to an American-owned company, McGraw-Hill Ltd.

This sale, announced on November 2, comes only five weeks after W.G. Gage Co. sold its textbook division to Scott-Foreman, another huge American company. Fears are being expressed that the Canadian textbook industry will soon be totally dominated by U.S. corporations.

Protest of the sellout has been swift. Employees of Ryerson, including the International Typographers Union, have expressed opposition to the sale. The NDP Waffle Movement has organized a demonstration. Leading Canadian authors, including Al Purdy, Eli Mandel and Milton Acorn have withdrawn their books being published by Ryerson.

Even senior executives of Ryerson, and two large Toronto daily papers have condemned the sale. The massive opposition to the sale has been so widespread that Church officials have expressed alarm, and may go so far as to reverse the sale.

The United Church has cited financial losses as the reason for the sale. However, employees of Ryerson have pointed out that Ryerson profits have been used for years to supplement ministers' pension funds.

A problem of related importance is the purchase of expensive equipment for unprofitable church projects. Example: a two million dollar press was bought to publish the costly New Curriculum Sunday School program — just when the current radicalization among youth was proceeding to chop Sunday school attendance precipitously. Now this press is sitting idle, and will be scrapped.

But the United Church is certainly far from bankrupt. It has a general fund of $28 million, and owns property valued at nearly $90 million in Metro Toronto alone — most of that tax-free.

The federal and Ontario governments did nothing to block the sellout. Stanley Randall, Ontario minister of Trade and Development said "We're not going to give Ryerson a million dollars just to keep it in Canadian hands." Meanwhile Randall is giving away millions to U.S. corporations in "forgivable" loans as encouragement to establish themselves in Ontario.

The federal government won't do anything either. Jean-Luc Pépin, minister of Trade and Commerce, denied any knowledge of the situation, although he had been informed five months previous to the sale.

The sellout of Ryerson Press will mean more unemployment for skilled workers. Fifty members of the Bookbinders union have already been laid off, and about 50 typographers will soon be thrown on the scrap heap. Of the 75 senior staff, only five have been offered jobs with McGraw-Hill.

Opponents of the sellout have pointed out the key role of the textbook industry in our education and culture, which is increasingly coming under American control. Less than one-third of all school texts are now published in Canada. Only two of the major textbook publishing companies remain in Canadian hands.

It goes without saying that American publishers have little interest in maintaining and developing Canadian writers and culture. Moreover, these companies operating in Canada have tended to steer away from controversy, or writings that might upset the status quo in Canada, in order to comply with the government's request that they be "good corporate citizens."

Canadian publishing corporations have also shown little interest in blocking such sellouts. Two of the largest Canadian firms have just sold out to the U.S. Which one will be next?

What does U.S. control of textbook publishing mean?

photo by White

NATIONALIZE TEXTBOOK PUBLISHERS was demand of picket line at Ryerson plant November 4 organized by NDP's "Waffle" caucus. Demonstrators include Mel Watkins (center).

One American-published text used in Canada, on "Canadian liberties and freedoms," has a cover illustration of Abraham Lincoln. Another, a popular book in school libraries, contains a story of a child's daydream — shooting with the U.S. Marines.

Maclean-Hunter, mentioned as a Canadian alternative to McGraw-Hill in the Ryerson deal, recently opposed attempts to deny Time and Readers' Digest their present status as "Canadian" publications. It turns out that these American magazines have set up the agency through which Maclean's gets its advertising.

Public ownership is the only solution to the problem of increasing U.S. domination of the publishing industry. Manitoba's New Democratic Party government has pointed the way in proposing a publicly-owned textbook publishing industry in that province.

But the crisis of the textbook industry is only one aspect of the Americanization of the educational system as a whole. As the Ryerson scandal broke, Toronto Star columnist Peter Sypnowitch was reporting that in Ontario's schools, another U.S. company has secured a monopoly in having its books peddled by teachers.

Repeated studies have shown how present university hiring policies lead to domination of the faculty by American professors, and deny jobs to Canadian graduates.

Student and faculty control must be established over textbook content, and further over course content and school and university hiring.

A whole range of struggles are on the agenda around the crucial issue of imperialist domination of Canadian culture and education.

Protests in Sask. NDP against expulsions bid

SASKATOON — An attempt is underway to expel members of the Young Socialists from the Saskatchewan section of the New Democratic Party.

The Saskatchewan party executive has responded to a motion by the Nutana Center constituency by establishing a committee, consisting of three provincial executive members, to hear submissions on the proposed expulsions. The committee is to report to provincial council in January.

The Nutana Center resolution directs the provincial executive to issue a general statement that members of the "Young Socialist (Trotskyite Fourth International) party cannot be accepted as members of the NDP."

The main force behind the expulsion effort is provided by one or two individuals who hold no official positions in the party apparatus. The leadership of the party, for their own reasons, seems reluctant to heed the Nutana Center initiative. All the more surprising therefore that its motion should have been honored with the setting up of an official investigation.

The charge that the Young Socialists constitute a political party has been copied from similar cases of antidemocratic measures against socialist dissidents in other provincial sections. Needless to say, it is an absurd smear.

The YS is a socialist youth organization which gives unconditional support to the NDP. As the Young Socialists say in their brief mailed to members of the Saskatchewan provincial council, "The NDP is our party and we will have neither truck nor trade with any other."

Over forty provincial party members, most of them constituency executive members, have signed an open letter to members of the provincial council, protesting the expulsion movement. Several leading members of the Alberta party have addressed protests to the provincial secretary. Nipawin constituency has passed a resolution protesting the expulsion moves.

Any move to expel party members is extremely dangerous. It establishes a witch-hunt atmosphere in the party and sets a dangerous precedent for expulsions all across the country. Opponents of the move are urging all party members interested in preserving democracy in the NDP to register their protests.

Letters or petitions of protest may be addressed to the provincial secretary of the Saskatchewan NDP, 1630 Quebec St., Regina. Copies can be sent to the Saskatoon Young Socialists, Box 704, Saskatoon.

labor Challenge

#20 Nov 1970

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labor Challenge #20 NOV 1970

Schreyer triumphs as 'Waffle' fumbles

by Dennis Lomas

WINNIPEG — A dramatic conflict over the War Measures Act and a strong socialist challenge to the policies of the NDP Schreyer government highlighted the October 31 - November 1 convention of the Manitoba New Democratic Party.

The "Waffle" caucus, a socialist formation in the party, pressed for a wide range of socialist demands, from women's liberation to nationalization of resource industries. It mustered substantial support, revealed in the attendance of some 125 of the 650 convention delegates at its between sessions meeting.

Federal NDP leader T.C. Douglas defended the party's opposition to the War Measures Act in his address to the convention — to the applause of many delegates. Schreyer felt obliged to reiterate his support of Trudeau's repressive legislation in accepting re-election as party leader. But delegates were never permitted to state their views; Waffle-sponsored resolutions against repressive legislation were not permitted to reach the floor.

The Waffle caucus has developed in part in response to the Schreyer government's failure to pursue a socialist course. Waffle has opposed the government's continuing hand-outs to big business, called for more party democracy, and opposed Schreyer's weak-kneed handling of the auto-insurance crisis.

Constitutional amendments pressed by the Waffle group restricted the NDP's parliamentary caucus's freedom to ignore decisions of party conventions, and required it to report its entire legislative program to provincial council before the opening of each session.

The fate of the amendments — one was roundly defeated and another rendered meaningless by a sub-amendment — indicated the continuing firm organizational control of the right-wing leadership entrenched in the cabinet.

The economic development panel saw the most polemical debates on program. Waffle resolutions called for a shift in government policy away from "promotional work and financial aid to foreign controlled firms" (the present policy of the Department of Industry and Commerce) to a concentration on "helping cooperative enterprises and crown corporations."

The panel on women's rights passed a comprehensive women's liberation resolution with little opposition. Many Waffle resolutions were passed in other panels.

But what did these discussions decide? Cabinet ministers present in the panels consistently amended resolutions to read "the NDP urge the government" rather than "the NDP call for" or "the NDP implement a policy of." And even then, only one of the Waffle supported resolutions adopted in the panels was permitted to reach the convention floor.

The convention's undemocratic procedure blocked democratic debate on the key programmatic issues; the Waffle's own strategy blocked their other main chance to bring their challenge before the convention. The Waffle group failed to run a candidate for any party office.

The office of president would have been a logical target. But rather than run, the Waffle supported a candidate who expressed no left sympathies in his campaign material or speech.

Cy Gonick, the Waffle's leading exponent in Manitoba, declined to contest any position in the party. He argued that Waffle should attempt to prevent a polarization within the party at this time. Rather it should concentrate on getting action-oriented members into elected office, some of whom would be sympathetic to the Waffle. This orientation was accepted by the Waffle as a whole.

Waffle missed the opportunity to present its program from the candidate's rostrum. Its ideas were soon lost in the confusion of elections, announcements and procedural maneuvers which characterize the end of most NDP conventions.

Cy Gonick, NDP MLA and leader of Manitoba "Waffle" caucus.

Despite its weaknesses, the Waffle survived its first big test with increased strength. Its future seems bright. Increased work on the constituency level, preparation for the forthcoming policy conference, and activity around political questions such as U.S. control of the Canadian economy, opposition to repressive legislation, etc., provide promising opportunities for the Waffle to build its strength, and educate the party membership.

Unity in action for women's liberation

League for Socialist Action call

(from Labor Challenge November 1970)

How will the women's liberation movement be built? How should this movement relate to other movements and issues? What is the relationship of the women's liberation movement to the socialist movement? Such questions are being heatedly debated within the movement today.

This document, 'The Socialist Strategy for women's Liberation,' adopted at the recent convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, discusses these and other issues from the revolutionary socialist viewpoint. The following are some excerpts.

* * * *

The women's liberation movement must be non-exclusionist. It must seek to involve all women who want to be part of the struggle, regardless of their politics, experiences, class backgrounds, etc. The organizational norms of the movement should be designed to allow all women to participate in its activities and decisions.

We recognize that it is important that the movement carry both actions and educational discussions. "Consciousness-raising' discussions play a vital role in enabling women to come to grips with their oppression, and mass actions, such as the abortion caravan campaign in Canada, and the August 26 actions throughout the U.S., have a decisive role to play in enabling the movement to feel and demonstrate its power and strength.

Program for mass action

We reject the concept that the women's liberation groups now developing should adopt a rounded "anti-imperialist," “revolutionary," "socialist "or "Marxist" program — a concept which serves only to limit these groups to already convinced radicals, often to limit them to one particular tendency. At the same time we oppose the concept that the women's liberation movement should become a Issue movement around one particular aspect of women's oppression, such as abortion.

Because the oppression of women touches on every aspect of life, this struggle quickly relates to and overlap with other struggles. The criterion in determining whether the movement should take a stand on an issue that is not primarily a women's issue, in our view, should be whether or not that particular struggle broadens the movement and enables it to move forward in an anti-capitalist direction. Women's liberationists must be won to the understanding that their struggle is an important component in the overall fight against exploitation and oppression.

The struggle against all manifestations of male chauvinism is an important task before women's liberationists. But the overall thrust of the movement must go much deeper. It is in relation to this that we put forward the basic historical materialist approach developed by Marx and Engels.

Women have not always been oppressed since time immemorial. It was the advent of class society, based on the private ownership and inheritance of the means of production, that brought about their oppression. We can refer to the period in pre-history known as the matriarchy, when women played the leading role in advancing human society, to demonstrate how the position of women is rooted in the economic and social conditions of society and not in the "timeless psychology" of man and woman.

Socialist perspective

Only through the destruction of the existing economic and social structure, only through the destruction of capitalism and the building of a socialist society, will women's liberation be realized.

This is not an academic matter. It involves the essential strategy of the movement. It determines that the strategy of the movement must be developed in an anti-capitalist direction.

The demands we put forward — for complete equality at work, for a far-reaching system of government-financed nurseries and childcare centers controlled by those who use them, for free abortions on demand, etc. — are designed to give expression and direction to the inherently anti-capitalist dynamic of this struggle. They are transitional demands, which articulate women's needs, raise their consciousness and propel them forward in struggle against the system. One of the key tasks of revolutionaries in the movement is to convince other women's liberationists of the need for such a strategy and to participate with them in formulating it.

The women's liberation movement has the potential to reach out to all women, and to draw them into an anti-capitalist struggle and towards the socialist solution. Demands such as that for equal pay launch them into struggle against capitalism on an economic level, while others such as the demand for a massive government-financed system of child-care, into struggle on a political level against the capitalist state. The oppression of woman is so deeply imbedded in the very foundations of the system itself, that no series of reforms, however far-reaching, can eradicate it. Thus, the struggle as it moves forward, is propelled all the more clearly against the capitalist system which benefits from and sustains the oppression of women.

One question that is heatedly debated in the movement centers around the family as an economic and social institution. A whole range of views are put forward on this issue.

We explain that the family emerged with class society as the mechanism whereby private property, the privately-owned means of production, was passed from one generation to the next. Capitalist society throws the responsibility for caring for and raising children on the nuclear family, within which this becomes women's specific task and social function.

The family bears the burden of taking care of the aged and infirm, and the education and inculcation of bourgeois values into children. Within its walls, backwardness, conservatism, and a narrow selfishness are nurtured. Intolerable economic burdens and, as a result, psychological pressures, are placed on this fundamental unit, which is then proclaimed sacred.

Future of the family

As a result the family, as we know it today, far from tying individuals together on the basis of any real human relationships, chains them to one another on the basis of economic necessity. The family is a reactionary pillar of class society whose economic foundations must be destroyed in order to free its members from its shackles and to allow truly harmonious human relationships to flourish.

It is in this context that we pose the responsibility of society as a whole to care for and educate children.

We say that women have a right to be financially independent, and we concretize that concept also in such demands as equal pay and preferential hiring of women, for a wage for homemakers, and jobs for all women through sliding scales of hours.

The League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière stands out in stark contrast to all other organizations on the left. The program and traditions of our movement, around which we are all educated, firmly uphold the full liberation of women. Women have been prominent as leaders and activists of our movement since its inception — long before the advent of today's women's liberation movement. We date our heritage in this respect back to the days of the early Canadian Communist party, with its outstanding women leaders such as Florence Custance. Today our movement has more women in its leadership than ever before and is winning the best of the radicalizing women.

And yet it is true that more than half our membership and leadership is male. This is not because we want things this way, nor because we are insensitive on this issue. Rather it is because we are building a movement with the people and in the conditions that exist in capitalist society. We are building an instrument to destroy capitalism, not a microcosm of a future society.

The League for Socialist Action

We are building a movement which will unite within its ranks the most conscious elements of all sections of the population and will weld them into a unified combat party. Within our own ranks we consciously strive to overcome all manifestations of male chauvinism.

We are not a federation of oppressed groups, representing different and conflicting interests, but a democratic centralist movement in which all members participate in developing the program for and helping to lead a multifaceted struggle for the abolition of capitalism.

We wholeheartedly support the development of the women's liberation movement. It is a powerful indication of the deepening radicalization that is taking place in Canada. It has the potential to include half the population and is presently propelling a whole new layer of Canadian society into active struggle against capitalism. We are working in this movement with the utmost confidence and enthusiasm; we are activists and leaders in it; we are working to build it and direct it against the source of woman's oppression — class society.

The goal of this movement is not just women's liberation but the liberation of all humanity from deep sexual, psychological, social and economic oppression. We must show that this requires nothing less than socialist revolution, that women's liberationists must join in building the revolutionary instrument proven indispensable in leading this revolution. They must join the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

(end)

labor Challenge #20 Nov 1970

nada-wide women's rally ebates liberation strategy

first Canada-wide women's tion conference will take place in toon on November 21-22. This is an g development in the growth of the an women's liberation movement pportunity for activists from across ntry to meet together and discuss es and strategy for the movement coming period.

tured speaker at the conference is e Dixon from Montreal, speaking Political Economy of Women. The nda includes such topics as:

ialist Women: Where do our dif- s lie? — the debate over strategy.

olutionary women.

omen's Liberation: social ment or social service bureau?

Strategy for Solidarity: the history ure of the abortion campaign.

conference is organized by the on Women's Liberation Movement nsdowne, Saskatoon; phone 242- Registration is $2, and billeting will vided.

'Hate yourself' is their goal

men have fought such growths tely all the way through recorded They've pulled out the hairs, out chunks of skin containing the and used ointments, medication, cantations of every imaginable tion in the process. Many of them mental cases during the struggle. Things are different now. Investigate this newer way to gain permanent freedom from what can become a permanent worry."

This ad is not a put-on; it appeared recently in Toronto papers advertising electrolysis as a method of removing unwanted hair. It was normal to have hair all over the body, it reassured us, but it was abnormal to leave it that way.

Advertising agencies have a conscious tactic of making women feel ugly, hate their bodies, despise the shape, color, smell and texture of themselves. Only then can women be made to buy the myriad of products and treatments which will temporarily cover up their "ugliness."

Some of this advertising is particularly objectionable. The worst is the kind that takes an aspect of women's history or desire for freedom and distorts it by manipulation. An example of this is the "You've come a long way, baby" ads, telling women that they are now so emancipated that they even have a cigarette designed for them.

Such ads not only exploit women, they degrade women. They degrade women's position in history and degrade the struggle for women's liberation. Yet such ads are not infrequent. They grow out of the capitalist system itself, which has to exploit all of humanity's needs — and manipulate fears and insecurities to create new needs — to expand a crowded market.

— Lis Angus

labor Challenge #20 Nov 1970

Vancouver election:

For a labor-socialist city government

photos by Bet

VANCOUVER ALDERMANIC CANDIDATES of League for Socialist Action in December 9 civic election. From left, Kate Porter, Mary Trew, Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — "Kick the business sharks and the real estate hucksters out of city hall!"

"For a labor-socialist administration in Vancouver!"

These are the themes of the League for Socialist Action campaign toward the December civic election. The LSA has nominated three candidates for alderman — Mary Trew, Kate Porter and Gary Porter. Together with the New Democratic Party's candidates for the mayoralty and five aldermanic posts, they constitute a realistic labor-socialist alternative at the civic level.

The LSA candidates are busy speaking at campus and election meetings. Interviews are being arranged and some 2,000 posters and 25,000 leaflets are in the final stages of preparation — soon to be spread throughout the city by volunteer campaign workers.

The LSA campaign actually began in early October, when it nominated Gary Porter, its Vancouver organizer, to contest the mayoralty. At that time, it appeared that the NDP would not name a mayoralty candidate. When the NDP nominated Tony Gargrave to run for mayor, however, Porter withdrew in his favor.

The other two LSA aldermanic candidates, Kate Porter and Mary Trew, are also members of the Young Socialists. Porter is the full-time YS organizer in Vancouver. Trew is a leader in the women's liberation movement, and participated in the abortion caravan to Ottawa last spring.

What would a labor-socialist administration mean in Vancouver? To begin with, the LSA candidates point out, it would mean an end to the "law and order" campaigns of Mayor Tom Campbell and the present city council. Campbell and his "Non-Partisan Association," backed by big business magnates like the CPR and MacMillan-Bloedel interests, allocate 50 times more for police each year than for public housing.

Campbell is calling for riot equipment for police and 80 more men for the force. His cops recently attacked homeless youth, attempting to drive them out of the Jericho hostel. His council attempted to obstruct the right of the Vietnam Action Committee to demonstrate against the war on October 31. Campbell recently set the city's legal department to work to find out if he could use the War Measures Act to drive draft resisters out of the city.

The LSA candidates counterpose community control of the police, and a city administration that would speak out against the Trudeau government's attacks on our hard-won civil liberties; a city council that would condemn the war in Southeast Asia and throw the weight of the city government behind massive demonstrations against the war.

On November 11, Remembrance Day, there were no less than 18,723 people listed on Vancouver's welfare rolls. With their families, they represent almost 10 percent of the city's entire population. Unemployment here is running at a rate of close to 9 percent.

A labor administration, the LSA says, would launch a massive public-works program beginning with large-scale public housing construction, and introduce the shorter work week in the municipal civil service, to create more jobs.

The Campbell administration assesses choice properties owned by the CPR at far below their real retail value, and dumps the tax burden on small homeowners. The socialist candidates advocate steeply graduated property, business and church taxes.

In addition the LSA-YS candidates call for student-teacher control of the schools, free clinics to provide abortion on demand, and free 24-hour child-care centers to liberate women from restriction to the role of mother and housewife.

They call for stiff anti-pollution controls backed by stiff fines and ultimately expropriation for offending companies, and imprisonment for executives responsible for breaking anti-pollution laws; for free rapid transit, for a full program of tenants rights, including the right to bargain collectively with their landlords.

Compared with the costly, razzle-dazzle campaigns of the big business candidates, the LSA campaign is modest in funds, although not in what it attempts. But the LSA campaign speaks for large numbers of Vancouver citizens who are mobilizing for their rights — the trade unionists, students, antiwar and women's liberation activists. That is why their campaign is so important.

labor Challenge #20

NDP must press program, mobilize against Campbell

The New Democratic Party has fielded its first Vancouver civic slate for the December municipal elections. Headed by mayoralty candidate Tony Gargrave, the slate includes five aldermanic candidates, thus contesting the majority of the 11 city council seats.

The NDP campaign, long urged by the League for Socialist Action and party militants, represents a big step forward for the party and Vancouver labor. With its trade union roots and wide base of support in the Vancouver working class the NDP slate lays the basis for using the elections to kick big business out of City Hall and establishing a labor government.

To this point, however, the NDP campaign if falling far short of its potential. Party activists have begun to express criticism and disappointment in Gargrave, who has said almost nothing about the party's municipal program with its demands for mass low-rental public housing, free rapid transit and free 24-hour child care centers.

Gargrave says he doesn't want to use personal attacks in his campaign. With this excuse, he has refrained from attacking the anti-labor, anti-women, anti-youth policies of the Cambell regime.

Activists feel, legitimately, that his "non-campaign" may not even mobilize the traditional base of support which the party has in federal and provincial elections.

Some NDP candidates, like Hilda Thomas, former chairwoman of the Vietnam Action Committee, are attacking the capitalist administration in city hall and defending the party's program. But the clearest defenders of the labor party alternative have been the revolutionary socialist aldermanic candidates of the LSA.

The Waffle caucus is playing no role at all. It could provide a focus to mobilize party activists to raise hell about Gargrave's political non-campaign and to begin to spread the word about the party's program.

There are still almost four weeks to go. Hopefully, the NDP campaign will go over to the offensive against the Campbell regime and press the real solutions contained in its municipal program.

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LSA candidates fight for right to abortion

by Kate Porter
Vancouver LSA aldermanic candidate

"But isn't abortion on demand illegal?" asked radio talk show host Ed Murphy.

"Yes it is," replied socialist aldermanic candidate, Mary Trew. "That's why it is an important question in this election."

"But the abortion laws are federal," persisted Murphy. "What can city council do about them?"

"These laws are unjust," Trew responded. "Those laws deny women the right to control their own bodies. No city council that claims to represent women in Vancouver can ignore that.

"City council must fight beside women to have these laws repealed. And why wait — it must establish free abortion clinics to ensure that no woman is denied access to abortion for lack of money."

Free abortion on demand is a key aspect of the League for Socialist Action aldermanic campaign in Vancouver.

Mary Trew and myself are both activists in the women's liberation movement, and we are using the election campaign to carry women's struggle forward.

Vancouver women's activists initiated the cross-country caravan for abortion reform last spring. We stand for a civic government that will initiate and lead such campaigns. We demand that city hall defend Dr. Makaroff, sentenced by Vancouver courts to three months in jail for illegal abortions, who now faces possible deprival of his licence to practise at the hands of the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

With nothing but opposition from Mayor Campbell and his administration, women's liberationists have succeeded, through a strong campaign, in forcing a certain "liberalization" in abortion procedures in Vancouver hospitals. More therapeutic abortions are performed here than in any other hospital in Canada.

But the abortion problem is far from solved.

To get a therapeutic abortion a woman must convince a psychiatrist and get the signatures of seven doctors including the hospital therapeutic abortion board. This humiliating procedure is time-wasting and costly.

Recently women have been threatened with major abdominal surgery to scare them off and women on welfare have been forced to accept sterilization to obtain desperately needed abortions.

Fewer than one percent of women seeking abortions in this city get "therapeutics." Ninety-nine percent must seek illegal and unsafe abortions!

While prosecuting Makaroff, the government refuses to provide the facilities for abortion. Hospital beds are denied. Catholic hospitals refuse to perform abortions at all — though they eagerly accept public funds.

City hall has ample power to influence hospital policy — to make the beds and facilities available for abortions. We further call for the city to establish community polyclinics which, among other services, would provide women with birth control information and materials, pre- and post-natal care and abortion on demand — all free. Let the government prosecute if it dares!

Saskatoon LSA in mayoralty bid

SASKATOON November 16 — Maria Fischer filed her nomination papers today in the contest for mayor of this city.

Once again there is no NDP mayoralty candidate or NDP slate in this longstanding stronghold of CCF-NDP support — only a scattering of individual NDPers running for lesser offices.

Fischer is a well known activist of the League for Socialist Action. She will pose the working class alternative to the politics of the boss party machines that dominate civic office. Her campaign will be an important contribution to the winning of an NDP government in the provincial elections that are not far off.

Launch campaign for free abortion

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labor Challenge

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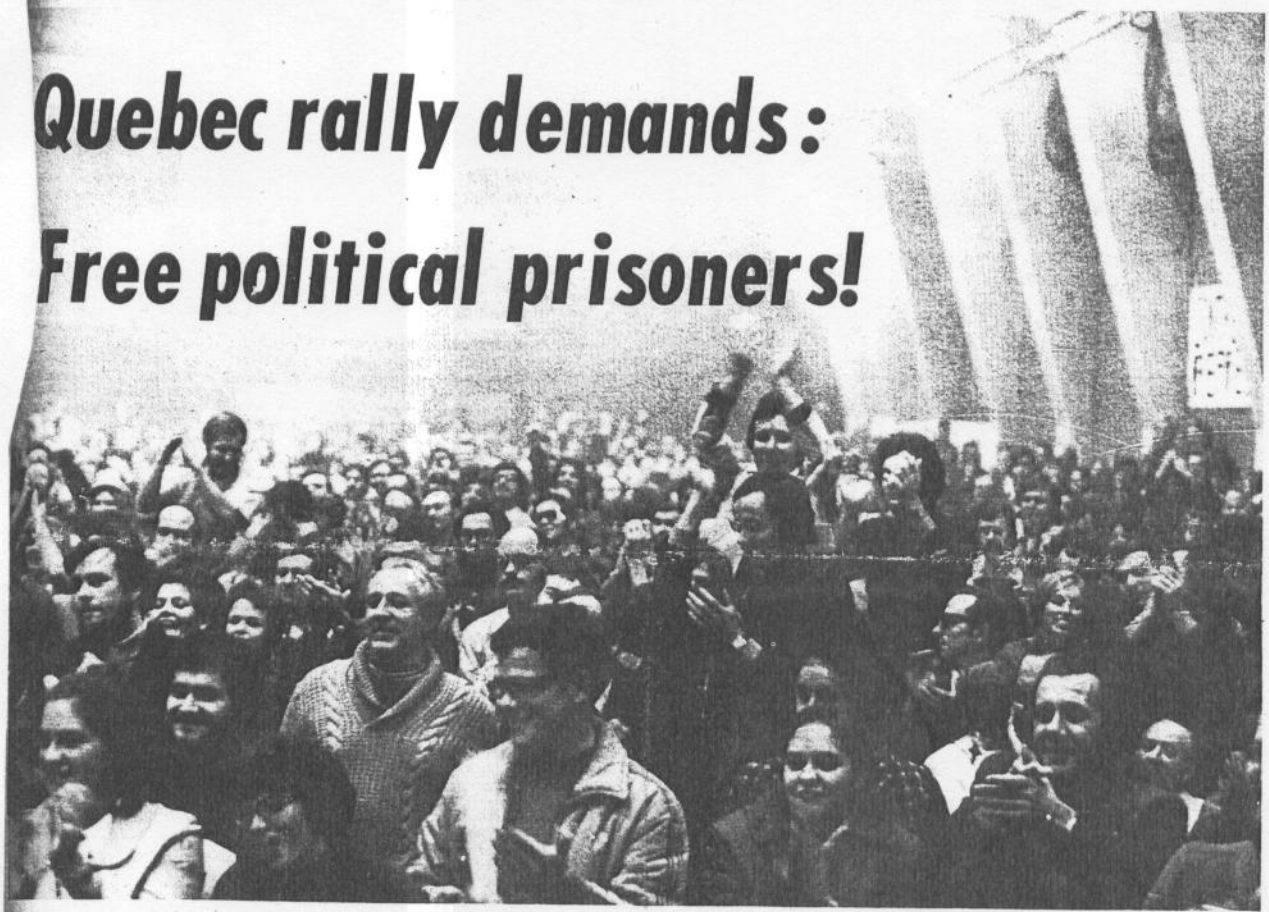
Does the FLQ exist? page 4

GM strike: militant strategy needed page 8

Quebec rally demands: Free political prisoners!



DEMAND END TO REPRESSION IN QUEBEC. Rally of 3,000 in Montreal's Paul Sauve arena Nov. 25 heard prominent political and trade union personalities denounce the Trudeau-Turner bill and the repression in Quebec. Meeting was sponsored by Quebec Committee for the Defense of Freedom.

by John Lejderman

MONTREAL, Nov. 26 — "Pierre Trudeau is solidly anchored in the old concept of the Quebec nation. . .From the beginning of the crisis to the end, his sole aim was to teach Quebec that it is a province like the others, but if it is to be different at all, then only as one that is better policed."

Thus Rene Levesque, most applauded speaker of the evening, summed up the significance of Ottawa's anti-democratic offensive at last night's meeting of the Comite Quebecois pour la Defense des Libertes (Quebec Committee for the Defense of Freedom).

The enthusiastic crowd of about 3,000 at the Paul Sauve arena made up the largest protest meeting yet against the repression and represented the real foundation of a broad united front to defend democratic rights in Quebec. The attendance was all the more impressive since, owing to the

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denounced the fact that "workers are forced in their own country to express themselves in a language which is not their own."

PQ leader Rene Levesque urged the audience to support the Parti Quebecois to avoid "anarchy" or "fascism." Although the role of Levesque and the bourgeois PQ during the crisis was largely confined to calling on the Bourassa government to act "responsibly," "like a real government," he was applauded frequently by the audience.

A spokesman for the Comite Quebecois called for the formation of local committees in the factories and schools. A petition was circulated with the five main demands of the CQDL: immediate release and compensation of victims of the War Measures Act; immediate repeal of all the "emergency" laws; an immediate end to police harassment of citizens; withdrawal of the Canadian army from Quebec; and solutions to the real social problems of Quebec.

A large banner on the wall, Free the Prisoners of War, expressed the demand that must become the focal point of the anti-repression mass movement in the coming months. Some of those facing trumped-up charges of FLQ membership have already been convicted. Many more face trial in coming weeks, including the 13 political prisoners charged with "seditious conspiracy." Among the latter are Montreal CNTU leader Michel Chartrand, civil liberties lawyer Robert Lemieux, defense committee leader Jacques Larue-Langlois, and writers Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon, who will come up for trial January 6.

The political militancy of last night's meeting was not only expressed in the tremendous applause for the speakers, but also in the extreme receptivity to the revolutionary socialist press. More than 1,300 copies of the two Trotskyist papers were bought. **La Lutte Ouvriere**, headlined, Free Michel Chartrand and the Other Political Prisoners, and **Jeune Garde**, headlined 6,000,000 Quebec Hostages, obviously expressed the sentiments of this new growing mass movement.

The task now is to carry forward the defense, not only in Quebec but also in English Canada.

repressive atmosphere, the committee was unable to get a hall until two days before the meeting, allowing only one day for publicity with little advance press coverage. The audience was mainly working class.

p. 2

In addition to Levesque, leader of the Parti Quebecois, speakers included Fernand Daoust, secretary of the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC), Matthias Rioux, president of the Montreal Teachers' Union, Michel Bourdon, vice-president of the Montreal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, Jean-Marc Piotte, professor at the University of Quebec, and Canon Jacques Grand'Maison of St-Jerome.

All the speakers demanded an urgent attack on the social injustices in Quebec instead of police measures against those who denounce these problems. All of them called for a united front of all political groups to defend individual freedom.

Bourdon, fired by the CBC for denouncing censorship during the recent crisis, lashed out against the "totalitarian undertaking of Trudeau to force us to be silent." The trade unions, he said must play a key role in fighting the repression. "We have to step up our political action program at the CNTU convention December 6."

Fernand Daoust of the QFL strongly defended the position adopted by the three trade union federations on October 21 against the imposition of the War Measures Act. Alluding to the GM strike at Ste-Therese, where autoworkers are demanding the right to work in French, he denounced the fact that "workers are forced in their own country to express themselves in a language which is not their own."

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The task now is to carry forward the defense, not only in Quebec but also in English Canada.

to the young socialists-ligue des jeunes socialistes convention DEC.31- JAN.2 MONTREAL

Poster announcing Young Socialists' convention.

YS/LJS plans to rally in occupied Montreal

Plans for the campaign against Trudeau's repression in Quebec will head the agenda at the Canada-wide convention of the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Sociliastes in Montreal, December 31 to January 2.

This fourth bi-national convention of the YS/ LJS will reflect not only the tremendous past growth, but the promising future of the revolutionary socialist youth movement.

Upwards of 25 towns and cities across Canada will be represented by activists in the YS/ LJS — leaders in the Quebecois, anti-war, women's liberation, high school and university student movements.

"The convention is taking place in occupied Montreal," announced Jacquie Henderson, executive secretary of the YS/ LJS "where leaders of the Quebec independentist and socialist movements are on trial for their ideas and political activities.

"This convention itself is part of our continuing campaign against the repression organized by Trudeau, Bourassa, Drapeau and their cohorts.

"Young Socialists from British Columbia to Newfoundland are coming together at this convention to discuss and organize our participation in the movement against the Trudeau government and its anti-Quebecois, anti-women, anti-student, anti-worker, anti-democratic policies."

The convention will be discussing three major documents — a political resolution which presents the overall strategy for the next major expansion of the YS/ LJS, a manifesto of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes presenting its perspective for growth in the movement for independence and socialism in Quebec, and a women's liberation resolution which outlines a strategy of mass action for the liberation of women.

All those wishing to attend the convention, to receive further information, or copies of the convention resolutions and discussion bulletins may contact the YS/ LJS local in their area or write YS/ LJS Central Office, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto, Ontario.

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Simpson tour bolsters growing rights struggle

by Al Cappe

"It was only when the civil liberties groups started protesting that lawyers were allowed into prison to see us. In the same way it is only by speaking out now that I will ever retain my right to do so."

This was Penny Simpson's response at a meeting of 1,500 students at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland. Someone had wanted to know if she wasn't afraid to be making a speaking tour of English Canada to mobilize opposition to the War Measures Act (the RCMP had followed her around St. John's). Her answer indicates the tone and purpose of her tour.

Simpson was sent on tour by the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes to help set in motion the defense campaign for civil liberties. She was arrested under the Act and held incommunicado for six days in Montreal. The trip lasted three weeks, covering twelve cities in the Atlantic provinces and Ontario and meetings ranging from 80 to 1,500 people.

What was her overall impression from those three weeks? "The tide is turning against Trudeau. The mood of the country is beginning to shift from shock or blind faith in the government, to questioning and wariness and then to real distrust and reconsideration. While I thought I'd be meeting opposition all the way instead I found a great deal of support and a real desire by many for action against the government."

The YS/ LJS responded quickly to the need for the radical movement in this country to defend itself and the political prisoners in Quebec. The purpose of the tour was not only to expose the government and explain the situation in Quebec but also to begin the building of defence committees which would unite all groups and individuals into a struggle for the restoration of democratic rights and freedom for the political prisoners.

Every meeting held was either the gathering of those people interested in forming a committee or was a first meeting for a committee already established. Defense groups were sent up in Halifax, St. John's, Moncton, Peterborough, Windsor, Hamilton and other centers. Whether the meeting was 100 people or 1,500 people, the individuals in attendance realized that they were not alone. They saw that others were worried and moreover wanted to act.

Support came from many quarters. A Windsor newspaperman explained his support for Simpson's tour from his own experience: "In the first week after the Act was invoked the cops phoned our paper and told us that they didn't 'want' to censor us but that they would if we 'forced' them to."

In Peterborough the Liberal member of parliament Hugh Faulkner politely declined to debate Simpson though he was soon to begin a tour of local high schools to drum up support for Trudeau. A group of students at Trent University decided to go around to the principals to demand equal time with him and to distribute leaflets which told the real story in the schools.

The tour had a tremendous impact not only through the favorable press coverage but through the people which it drew together. The tour showed that there is the real potential for a mass movement against the government's repression.

Those arrested will storm back

WMA victim tells her story

Speaker at MUN advocates repeal of War Measures Act

Speaker sees WMA as sledge-hammer

Social, economic problems cause of Quebec terrorism

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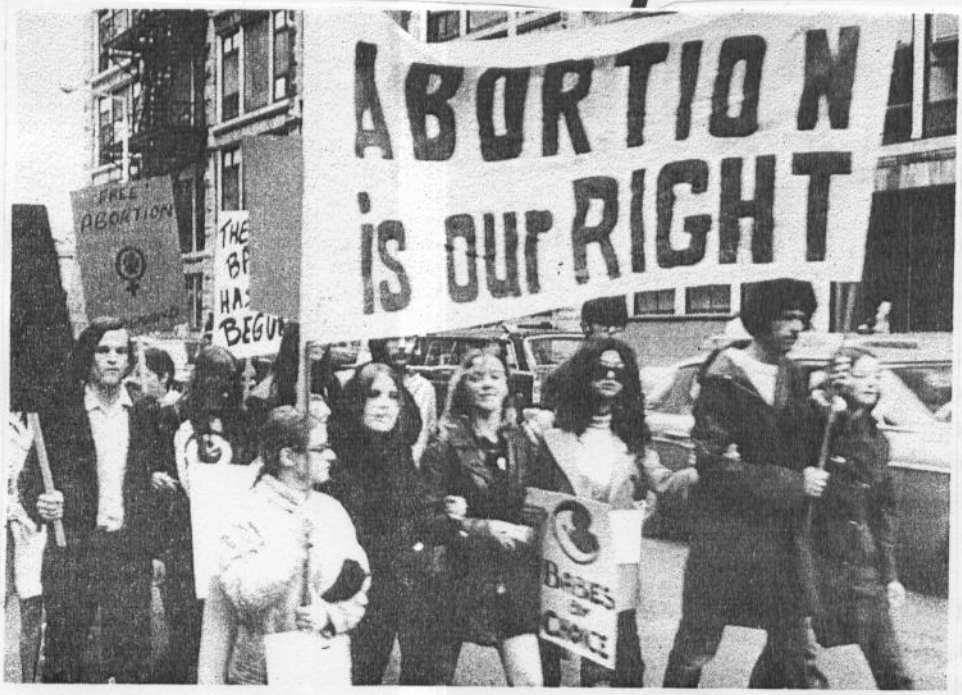
Debate at Saskatoon women's conference

Mass action is key for women's lib[illegible]on



FOCUS FOR MASS ACTION. Call for "free abortion on demand" at last May's demonstration in Ottawa (above), has shown power to win broad support to women's liberation movement.

by Lis Angus

The National Women's Liberation Conference in Saskatoon November 21-22, bringing together over 200 women from across the country, marked a milestone in the development of the Canadian women's liberation movement.

It launched an intensive cross-Canada campaign for free abortion on demand focusing on protest actions against the government's inhuman abortion laws on February 14. At the same time it clarified the debate on the nature of the movement, its direction and priorities that had been taking place in some sectors of the movement.

The conference was dominated by this debate. Some participants attacked the very concept of attempting to build a mass action-oriented, non-exclusionist women's liberation movement.

This attack was launched by Marlene Dixon, the featured speaker scheduled to open the conference with an address on "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation." She ignored her announced topic to attack the validity of the movement itself, stating that "Sisterhood is bullshit." Later she explained, "I'm leaving the movement — but I'm not leaving it alone. My purpose is to split the movement along class lines."

Peggy Morton, formerly of the Toronto Women's Liberation Movement and now in the Leila Khaled Collective, also scheduled to speak on the political economy topic, elaborated Dixon's points. She said that it is selfish for women to organize around specifically women's demands such as abortion. She said it was only revolutionary to work with the poor, that women uniting together against simply their own oppression is "liberal."

The meaning of these at first confusing attacks became clear when an action proposal was presented to the conference — the campaign for free abortion on demand. Dixon and Morton opposed this action, the only one proposed at the conference, making it clear that what they wanted was not a genuine "revolutionary women's movement" as they advocated at one point in the discussion, but a narrowed, inward-turned movement that shied away from all possibilities of becoming a revolutionary mass action.

Dixon stated that a continuation of the abortion campaign would be a disaster for the movement the same way "the August 26 demonstrations in the U.S. were a disaster." August 26 a disaster? Yes, she said, because "only 30,000 women came out on the New York demonstration!"

What's worse, she felt, the U.S. movement was starting to win concessions in their demands for free legal abortion. Thus these demands must be reformist and non-revolutionary.

Mary Trew, a Young Socialist and a member of the Vancouver Women's Alliance, was one of the many women to defend women's liberation against these attacks. She asked Morton and Dixon, "Why are you afraid to unite with women who can agree on specific demands, such as the right to free abortions on demand, and who want to fight for them?"

"This conference poses the question of the whole future of the movement," she continued. "Are we going to retreat now, or are we going to go out to build a mass women's liberation movement to actually win the demands we have raised?"

The August 26 actions in the U.S., she pointed out, emphatically demonstrated that women can indeed unite and that the power of united sisterhood has a staggering potential. Women from all walks of life, from all classes and races, came together in mass demonstrations demanding free abortion, free 24-hour child care, equal pay and opportunity on the job, and equal opportunities in education. This action marked a decisive turning point in the growth of the movement.

Trew described the revolutionary dynamic of women's liberation as it mobilized women in struggle against the capitalist system and explained the Morton-Dixon position as "a fear of a mass movement for women's liberation and a fear of winning victories."

A number of women commented that they had only joined the movement recently and were beginning to think that socialism was the answer to the oppression of women. This sentiment reflects the revolutionary dynamic of women's liberation. But if the movement were to become exclusively socialist as Marlene Dixon had said it must, women like them would never get the chance to come to that consciousness through participating in the movement.

The conference itself demonstrated the truth of this argument. About a hundred women who attended the first day's session failed to return the second day. They had come to hear how to fight against their oppression as women and the abstract speeches on why they should not be concerned with their own problems simply confused them.

The opposition to mass action was led by an alliance of Jean Rands and Maggie Benston of the Vancouver Women's Caucus, with Dixon and Morton.

While Rands and Benston disagreed with Dixon-Morton's dismissal of the women's liberation movement as such, they agreed in opposition to united action around specific demands that can mobilize large numbers of women in struggle. "Women should only organize around the totality of their oppression," they said. But aside from proposing a vague "women's union" they gave no indication how this could be done.

On Sunday afternoon a workshop attended by representatives from groups across the country adopted the proposal of

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photo from The Militant

30,000 MARCHED IN NEW YORK. "Women's strike for equality" first revealed mass support for women's liberation in North America, launching movement as focus for broad radicalization of women. Demands for free abortion, free 24-hour child care, equal educational and job opportunities brought together tens of thousands across continent

the abortion campaign. The women decided to go back to their groups and start organizing for February 14. Another workshop was held, dominated by Morton-Dixon-Rands-Benston, in which the many disagreements among themselves were made clear. No proposals came out of this workshop.

As the debate intensified those who had supported the abortion proposal were baited as all being "liberals" on the one hand and Young Socialists and members of the League for Socialist Action on the other. But most outrageous was the claim that abortion action supporters are "supporters of genocide."

Dixon tried to rationalize this vicious slander by linking the campaigns in the women's liberation movement for the right of women to control their own bodies with racist imperialists who force poor, non-white women into sterilizations against their will.

Other rationalizations, often contradictory, for the anti-mass action position were put forward.

Morton for example played upon both the conditioning of women to be "helpmates" and the honest desire of women in the movement to fight for human liberation. She said, "Women often have to choose whether or not to do something just for themselves, or to help other people," and that they should choose to "serve the people," not just women.

This is as insulting to the intelligence as a proposal that the real task of Quebecois is to learn English and help English Canadian workers radicalize. The struggles of all oppressed sectors are part of the process of overturning the power of capitalism, and these struggles can't be forced to march lock-step at some uniform pace worked out in an academic watchtower.

But Dixon and Morton played upon the developing sentiment of women's liberationists, reflected at the conference, who are coming to realize that they must unite with other oppressed groups. For Dixon and Morton, this unity was posed as an alternative to the women's liberation movement.

There is a growing understanding within the movement that women's total liberation will be possible only with a complete change in society — a revolution — and that other oppressed groups are also struggling for such a change. Dixon manipulated this understanding to present the wrong conclusion: that a movement organized around women's oppression as a sex is a non-revolutionary movement.

Dixon does not recognize that a mass movement of women demanding control of their bodies and of their lives — demands which the capitalist system cannot meet — is a revolutionary movement in its own right. Socialists have to build such a movement, which forges the anger and frustration of millions of women into a powerful anti-capitalist force, speeding the achievement of a socialist society where these demands can be met.

Women who are workers, who are Black, Quebecois, or Native, are doubly or triply oppressed. But this does not cancel out women's own oppression as a sex.

The privileges offered by this system to students, professionals, intellectuals, are miniscule compared to the degradation these women must accept because they are women — and often only serve to heighten the contradictions.

The movement must continue to expose the lack of alternatives available to women in this society and mobilize the growing numbers of women who are refusing to accept such restriction.

"Women's liberation is human liberation." The demand of women — more than half of the population — to have access to the resources of this society in order to have control over their own lives, is crucial to the carrying out of a socialist revolution which will liberate humanity from the milenniaof class oppression.

Only one concrete direction came from the conference. It was posed by the abortion campaign — that of building a dynamic mass movement around specific demands that expose the roots of women's oppression. All the slanderous arguments against this strategy only make it clear that there is no other alternative for the movement, that it will either forge ahead in their direction or it will be set back. And the women of Canada will not allow this movement to dissipate.

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Campaign launched to win free abortion on demand

by Jacquie Henderson

A cross-Canada campaign for free abortion on demand focusing on protest actions on February 14 was launched at the abortion workshop of the National Women's Liberation Conference held in Saskatoon November 21-22.

The February 14 date marks the first anniversary of the launching of the campaign in Vancouver. In this year gains have been made in the fight for abortion but the murder of thousands of women through botched illegal abortions still continues.

Workshop participants vowed to confront Trudeau with their demands every time he stepped out of his office. Provincial and municipal governments were also singled out for attack and will be called upon to establish abortion clinics.

The women decided an important part of the campaign would be the defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, theatened with a jail sentence, and Dr. David Makaroff, presently in jail for performing abortions.

As a high school student from Edmonton explained to the conference, the issue is also one that affects high school women. She called the educational system hypocritical in its attitude to sex and birth control.

"We are not supposed to be interested in birth control," she said, "because nobody gets pregnant who doesn't want a baby. Except unwed mothers. And they don't exist. It's surprising how many of my friends don't exist." High school women will be carrying campaigns for high school assemblies on birth control and abortion.

The renewed campaign comes at an important juncture in the fight for free abortion on demand. Already the struggle has forced a certain liberalization of abortion procedures in some areas. Opposition to present abortion laws has spread rapidly, embracing a range of organizations from the New Democratic party to the otherwise conservative Canadian Psychiatric Society. Even the Liberal party policy conference felt compelled to make the record against Trudeau's refusal to change the law!

While support for legal abortion grows, Canadian women still do not have control over their bodies. Thousands of women are maimed and murdered yearly by botched abortions. Millions more are emotionally maimed by the constant threat of unwanted pregnancy. The abortion issue dramatically demonstrates that all women are in the same oppressed condition. Their problems are not personal; they are oppressed as a sex. That is why this issue has the potential of involving millions. of women.

The success of the women's liberation movement in the United States in winning legalized abortions in many states, raises the real possiblity of a big victory for the Canadian movement on this question. Victories, far from "coopting the movement," as some fear, propel it forward. They show that it is possible for women to win if they unite in common action and encourage them to continue to fight around other aspects of their oppression.

And from this struggle women learn about the nature of the system that oppresses them, and the need for a new society based on human needs, not profit. The abortion struggle reveals how Canada's rulers lack any concern for the desperate needs of Canadian women. They have shown themselves no more interested in the lives and welfare of Canadian women than in the lives of the Vietnamese. Trudeau's hypocritical support of existing abortion laws has come to symbolize for many all that is rotten and sexist in this society.

In addition to the central demand of free abortion on demand, the campaign will raise such demands as no forced sterilization, more research into safer contraception, and an extension of government financed medical plans so that the cost of birth control and abortion doesn't fall on the individual woman. All these demands attack the single problem that women do not have control over their bodies and the government denies us that control.

The campaign is just beginning. And we will struggle until we gain real control over our bodies and our lives.

photo by Belfont

MARY TREW was a delegate to Saskatoon conference from Vancouver Women's Alliance. A League for Socialist Action candidate for alderman in Vancouver's civic election, she has made women's liberation demands a focus of her campaign.

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photo by MacInnis

DR. HENRY MORGENTALER, prominent fighter for right to abortion, now threatened with jail term, speaks to Toronto rally November 26.

Doctor tells colleagues to risk jailing for abortion

by Katie Curtin

TORONTO — "Women cannot be equal or fully emancipated until they have control over their own bodies," Dr. Henry Morgantaler told an audience of 150 women and men here November 26. "Women have the absolute fundamental right to terminate a pregnancy."

Morgentaler, an active campaigner for many years for the right of women to abortion, has been charged with performing illegal abortions, and faces a maximum penalty of life imprisonment.

The meeting was sponsored by a broad coalition including the Toronto Women's Caucus and the Toronto Humanist Association.

"The doctor's duty is to help patients rather than to obey these outdated laws," Morgentaler said. "Doctors should be prepared to engage in civil disobedience, to go to jail if necessary. Refusal to perform an abortion can lead to a woman's death."

Morgentaler expressed his wholehearted support for the women's liberation movement. "Women don't want to be sex objects," he explained. "They want to be persons." Instead, however, the government is saying to women, "I am the owner of your uterus."

Morgentaler pointed to evidence of overwhelming public support, including even the recent Liberal party policy conference, for repeal of the abortion laws. Yet Trudeau continues to maintain that "public morality" is not ready for it. Unanimous consent of all parties, he tells us, is required to change the law. But, Morgentaler noted, Trudeau didn't feel such consent was necessary to push through the War Measures Act.

The meeting launched the Toronto end of the cross-country campaign for free abortions. Chairwoman Pam Furlotte of the Toronto Women's Caucus appealed for support of everyone in the campaign, which will culminate in protest actions for the right to abortion Feb. 14.

"Women must demand their rights," said Dr. Morgentaler, "and must continue to fight until victory."

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NDP CANDIDATE FOR HAMILTON MAYORALTY, Bill Freeman speaks at Vanguard Forum. Seated at left is chairman of meeting, John Steele.

Hamilton NDP candidate scores phony 'independents'

HAMILTON — "We are out to build a legitimate grass roots socialist movement in this city," said Bill Freeman to the Vanguard Forum held in the YMCA on November 22. Freeman was the first of the three mayoralty candidates in Hamilton to address the forum chaired by John Steele.

As the head of a slate of 16 NDP board of control, aldermanic and board of education candidates he scored others candidates who run as individuals as perpetuating a hoax on the electorate. Their promises mean nothing as they have only one vote, he noted.

Hamilton New Democrats have decided to enter municipal politics on a party basis, on the party label, with policies developed and agreed upon at a municipal convention and supported by all our candidates. "We are not going back to individual campaigns, win or lose," Freeman said.

Ward 5 NDP aldermanic candidate Joe Surrette participated in the meeting from the floor, and along with others in the enthusiastic audience gave incumbent Mayor Copps and candidate Lloyd Lazar a hard time.

Copps, who had once sought the leadership of the Ontario Liberal party, tried to pass off the past administration, with its Liberals, Tories and two or three NDPers, as some kind of progressive coalition. One of the audience asked Copps, since he claimed all the credit for what little had been done in housing, transit, pollution control, etc., if he was prepared to take all the blame for all that had not been done.

The Hamilton NDP decision to enter a slate, which is committed to govern or work in the council of this key southern Ontario heavy industrial city as a caucus behind its program, is receiving strong support from the trade union movement.

Eight pages of the November issue of the Steelworkers Local 1005 newspaper **Steel Shots**, is devoted to presenting the NDP team. It is being distributed house to house throughout the city.

Eight of the 16 candidates are leading activists in auto or steelworkers union locals — one of them is secretary of the McMaster faculty association.

While the program in general is vague, one of its strongest aspects is the section dealing with tenant's rights and urban renewal. The NDP team is pledged to slash mounting land costs by buying land on the open market, servicing it and leasing it back for long periods of time to homeowners. It is also committed to drastically expand the number of public housing units in the city, to recognition and support of such tenants' organizations as the Ontario Tenant's Association, to setting up of a rental administration to arbitrate eviction orders and lower rents when services are reduced or cut off, and to the promotion of Tenants Advisory bureaus with the right to accept rents from tenants and hold them until a landlord has complied with the provisions in local bylaws and the Landlord and Tenant Act.

Further information on the monthly Vanguard forum and regular study classes on socialism can be obtained by writing to the League for Socialist Action, 41 King William, Room 23, 528-2060.

Protests broaden against Sask. NDP expulsion bid

SASKATOON — December 12 has been set as the date of the first hearing of a committee set up by the Saskatchewan NDP executive to investigate attempts to expel members of the Young Socialists from the party.

Meanwhile, over 40 prominent members of the party, including Saskatoon alderman George Taylor, have protested the exclusion motion passed in two constituency clubs. The Saskatoon university club, to which some of the YS members belong, has voted overwhelmingly against expulsion of the YS. Expulsions are opposed by a sizeable majority of the provincial Young New Democrats executive.

Five leading members of the Alberta NDP have sent a letter to the Saskatchewan party adding their voices to the protest. Tom Pocklington, president of the Edmonton metro council, Lou Pocklington and Barrie Chivers, provincial party general vice-presidents, Ken Novakowski, president of Edmonton Center federal constituency, and Bob Holoch, executive members of the Edmonton metro council, signed the letter.

The target of the exclusionary attack, the members of the Young Socialists in Saskatoon, include longstanding activists in the NDP. Two of them, Howard Brown and Karen Kopperud, were original signers of the Saskatchewan "Waffle manifesto" and are members of the provincial Waffle's steering committee. Brown is an executive member in Saskatoon City Park constituency. Richard Thompson is a past member of the Saskatchewan Young New Democrats provincial executive and a former YND provincial staff organizer. Paul Kouri,

RICHARD THOMPSON, former staff NDY organizer, is one of the Young Socialists threatened with expulsion from Saskatchewan NDP.

organizer of the Saskatoon YS, has been active in the Waffle group. He was a delegate to the last NDP provincial convention.

The Nutana Center constituency resolution which sparked the expulsion move claims the Young Socialists are members of another political party, the "Trotskyite Fourth International". In a letter to the Commonwealth dated November 26, Jacquie Henderson, YS executive secretary, replies to a letter by one Harold Bronson: "The real question is not the address of the Fourth International and what someone takes upon himself to present as the record of the Fourth International, but whether the record, which is readily available, shows that the Young Socialists are loyal and active members of the NDP and therefore have full right to continue to be members of the NDP.

"The Young Socialists are not affiliated to the Fourth International. The latter is composed of working class organizations, not youth formations such as the Young Socialists. Our relation is that of a 'sympathizing group'. We say this because this is the simple fact of the matter, and not in any way to dissociate ourselves from the Fourth International.

We are internationalists and proud of it ... We're in favor of getting rid of capitalism all around the world, because that's the only way it can be done. In Canada today that means supporting and building the NDP."

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1000 new subs as drive closes

by Peter Sharpe

We're over 1000! That's the number of new subscriptions reported so far from the ten-week Labor Challenge subscription drive, which ended December 1.

Toronto area supporters have sent in no less than 475 new subs. Many other areas have still to make final reports.

The drive is the first for Labor Challenge, and it shows that our paper has been winning hundreds of new friends and enthusiastic supporters in its first year of publication. The final total will likely be somewhat short of our projected goal of 1500 — still an important achievement and a good basis for our future work.

Meanwhile — a last chance to take advantage of our special subscription drive offer. Fill out the form below and send it in with $2.00 — you will receive eight issues each of Labor Challenge and the Young Socialist, Canada's leading radical student newspaper.

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Socialist runs for Saskatoon mayor

SASKATOON — The campaign of Maria Fischer, League for Socialist Action candidate for mayor in the December 2 Saskatoon civic elections, has already gained significant support from many NDPers, youth and women.

In running Fischer, the LSA is projecting the alternative of a labor-socialist city government in the regrettable absence of a New Democratic Party slate.

The LSA candidate is centering her campaign on the longstanding control of city government by a well-organized minority acting for big business interests.

She exposes the city council as ignoring the crying needs of the majority; giving priority to projects resulting in high profits for the minority. She points out that workers, women, native minorities, the youth and the elderly have no real voice on the council.

MARIA FISCHER, League for Socialist Action candidate for mayor of Saskatoon.

Fischer has denounced the recent change of the term of office to three years by the provincial minister for municipal affairs and demands a return to yearly elections.

The LSA calls for opening the books of big business so that its contribution to city finances can be assessed in relation to the profits it gouges from the community, and for a minimum wage — equal for men and women — at a rate to be determined by the city's Labor Council.

The socialists advocate free public utilities for individuals and families and a city-run health insurance plan to eliminate deterrent fees applied to medicare pending abolition of these by a future NDP provincial government.

The LSA candidate calls for taxing big business, not the working people. Any company which refuses to take all necessary measures to eliminate pollution must be placed under municipal ownership.

Fischer gives special emphasis in the campaign to the needs of women. City government must set up free birth-control and abortion clinics, controlled by women themselves, and free 24-hour child care centers.

In a public forum held by the LSA on the elections, she stressed the need for a working class alternative to the big business-controlled city government and reiterated the League's consistent policy of urging the NDP to field full a municipal slate so that the potential of labor government in Saskatoon can be rapidly transformed into a reality.

Waffle poses left alternative runs Laxer for NDP leader

James Laxer will contest the federal New Democratic Party leadership as candidate of the party's left-wing "Waffle" caucus. His candidacy was announced at the regional Waffle conference held in Toronto November 28-29.

Laxer announced that a key purpose of his campaign will be to attempt to mobilize the NDP in defense of Quebec's right to self-determination.

His campaign for the federal NDP leadership is the first ever by an organized left formation. Laxer will run on the Waffle federal program, to be hammered out at a federal conference in Regina December 30-31.

An activist in the Kingston NDP, Laxer has become known throughout the party as co-author of the original Waffle manifesto "For an Independent Socialist Canada" and author of "The Energy Poker Game," a recent study of "the politics of the continental resources deal." The recent Ontario NDP convention elected Laxer to the NDP's federal council.

It is hoped his campaign will provide a vehicle to forge the unity of the party's left wing, and activate it in a far-reaching campaign not only to win adoption of socialist demands but for a fundamental change in the party's leadership to make it an effective vehicle to achieve those demands.

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Contact socialists in your area

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EDMONTON, Alta., League for Socialist Action, YS, 9686 Jasper Ave., 424-7644.
FREDERICTON, N.B., YS, Box 1521, 454-9270.
GUELPH, Ont., YS, c/ o Jim Onyschuk, 350 Paisley Rd., Apt. C, 822-1035.
HALIFAX, N.S., Telephone 422-9836.
HAMILTON, Ont., LSA, YS, 41 King William, Rm. 23, 528-2060.
KITCHENER, Ont., LSA, YS, Box 921.
LONDON, Ont. YS, 349 Maitland St., Apt. 2, 439-5903.
MONTREAL, Que., Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, 861-3018.
PETERBOROUGH, Ont., YS, c/ o T.U.C., Trent University.
ORILLIA, Ont., LSA, Box 835.
OTTAWA, Ont., LSA, YS, 788 Somerset W., 232-9945.
RICHMOND HILL, Ont., LSA, Box 281.
TORONTO, Ont., LSA, YS, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618 or 364-5908.
SASKATOON, Sask., LSA, YS, Box 704, 242-8175.
SUDBURY, Ont., LSA, YS, Box 691.
ST. CATHARINES, Ont., LSA, Box 622.
ST. JOHN'S, Nfld., YS, c/ o Gord Stone, Box 2063.
VANCOUVER, B.C., LSA, YS, 1208 Granville St., 688-5924.
WINNIPEG, Man., LSA, YS, 211 Graham Ave., 943-7791.

Demand war measures inquiry

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Meaning of report on "Status of Women" page 4

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Report of gov't commission on women bolsters campaign for free abortion

Demonstration for abortion on demand at Ottawa last spring.

by Brenda Zannis

The Toronto Women's Caucus called December 10 for a cross-Canada escalation of the campaign for the right of free abortion on demand.

The women of Canada, it said, must rally to demand immediate implementation of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women to grant women the right to decide whether or not they wish to terminate pregnancy, up to 12 weeks after conception.

This recommendation, along with the commission's call for a vastly extended government subsidized program of day care centers and for equal pay and preferential hiring would do much, the caucus says, to free women from many of the most inhuman degrading and unjust aspects of our oppression.

The report is proof of the growing impact of the women's liberation movement, the caucus statement continues. "Since its inception, the women's liberation movement has raised the issue of abortion — the right that women control their own bodies and lives — as a central issue before the movement. Last May, women from across Canada converged on Ottawa in a massive campaign for free abortion on demand."

The government's arrogant answer to this mass action was that it has no intention of even discussing the question.

Trudeau claimed that he, personally, was not opposed to "abortion on demand," but that public opinion was.

This problem doesn't seem to have posed itself to the government on other occasions when it has passed unpopular anti-labor laws or when it suspended all Canada's civil liberties by decreeing the War Measures Act.

But now Trudeau has no excuse whatsoever. The Royal Commission report cannot be shrugged off as the opinion of a small minority — its recommendations flow from opinions expressed in countless submissions by women's organizations and by individuals at open hearings across

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Royal Commission report can help build mass movement

Proposals vindicate women's libera

by Joan Newbigging

Joan Newbigging is a member of the LSA/ LSO women's commission and was co-author of the League's brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

Abortion on demand during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy; a network of government subsidized day care centers; special measures to be taken to ensure equality of women at work — the federal government to become a model in employment practices in relation to women.

These are a few of the far-reaching recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women whose report was released Dec. 6.

The report reveals the growing impact and strength of the women's liberation movement. It lays guidelines for the emancipation of women which are far in advance of today's attitudes and beliefs, and which, if broadly interpreted, have profound implications.

The report reflects the fact that great numbers of women made their opinions, ideas and problems heard by the commission, giving it a real picture of the prejudices and difficulties Canadian women face.

Thousands participated in the 37 days of hearings held across the country. 469 briefs were presented, from a wide range of individuals and organizations including the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

The recommendations, if implemented, would constitute important gains for Canadian women. The struggle for their implementation will give a powerful new impetus to the women's liberation movement.

An enormous challenge is now posed to that movement to publicize the report's findings and to campaign for the implementation of its key recommendations.

With the publication of this report, the fact of woman's oppression is no longer debatable. The report marshalls a wide range of facts, which irrefutably demonstrate the intense and pervasive discrimination women face at every level of Canadian society.

It reveals, for example, how two thirds of the employees of banks are women, only 10.3% of whom earn more than $5,000 annually, whereas 72.3% of male employees earn more than $5,000. In a study of retail stores the commission found that where 57% of the full-time employees were women, they held only 27.5% of the higher paid sales positions.

Current day care and nursery facilities meet the needs of one percent of the children of all ages of working mothers, 3% of those children of working mothers between three and five years.

The recommendations of the commission cover a wide range of areas — marriage, pension plans, problems of Canada's native peoples, taxation, education, federal government employment practices, etc. In one way or another they touch on basically all the key demands raised by the women's liberation movement, and acknowledge many of the principles of the movement.

The report accepts that a woman should have the right to decide whether or not to have an abortion (though the commissioners would limit this right to the first 12 weeks of pregnancy). Only one of the Commissioners, Elsie MacGill, added a minority report calling for abortion to be removed from the Criminal Code.

The report emphasizes that it is the responsibility of government to finance a large scale education campaign on birth control and to provide a network of birth control centers across the country.

It advocates maternity leave of up to 18 weeks with financial compensation (even if this is only unemployment insurance).

It seeks to come to grips with the fact that the educational system distorts the potential of girls and defines their future role through the sex-typing of roles in text books and of occupations in guidance instruction.

It recognizes that preferential hiring and upgrading of women is necessary in certain circumstances to overcome discrimination and calls on the federal government to take such steps with its employees.

It stresses the need for a network of government-subsidized day care centers for the children of women employed both inside and outside the home. It calls for a guaranteed annual income for single parent families.

Many of the recommendations listed are echos of demands raised in the brief presented to the commission by the League for Socialist Action.

At the same time the report has enormous limitations. The solutions posed in no way meet the problem in the terms that the commission itself presents it.

The report cites various sources to demonstrate how the cost of higher education hits hardest at women — yet fails to raise the demand, outlined in the LSA brief "that all educational fees be abolished and an income provided for students adequate to meet their essential needs while attending school."

It emphasizes that large numbers of women participated on their own initiative in the production of the report, and yet its recommendations for continuing structures to be set up to oversee the implementation of the report, to continue further studies and make further proposals, etc., it does not allow for their continued participation.

It fails to come to grips with the problem of women within the family, although it does go a long way towards recognizing the responsibility of society in relation to the needs of women and children.

It describes at length the problems of the unpaid housewife, recognizing her financial dependence as a central problem, but fails to call for a state wage for home-makers. Basically its only solution is a network of day care centers, but even here the principle that these facilities should be free, available to all and controlled by those who use them is not recognized.

This overall problem was pinpointed in the LSA brief. "Woman must be freed from her traditional responsibilities for the child: the child has the right to everything that society can provide, regardless of the resources of the parents. Parents should not be burdened with providing for the child but every facility should be available for the full develop-

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...Impetus to abortion campaign

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ment of the child."

The fundamental weakness of the report lies in its failure to investigate the roots of woman's oppression, and its resultant inability to pose any real, long term solutions.

It recognizes that "true equality of opportunity for women can only result from radical changes in our way of life and social organization," viewing its recommendations as the first step in this process. It does not tell us what these changes are or how they might come about.

This was the central question discussed in the LSA brief. It discussed how woman's social role and position throughout human society has been determined by the social productive relations. "From the matriarchy — the social relations of primitive communist society — has evolved what we know today as capitalism. Here too the social relations determine woman's role. The main feature of this society is the private ownership of the means of production and their utilization solely for the profit of those owning them. An appreciation of this is vitally important to the understanding of the present situation of woman.

"Woman has been relegated to the role of raising and training the next generation of workers, and, on occasion, when required, has been thrust directly into the work force herself. Woman has been shunted on and off the labor market to meet the needs of an unplanned and profit-motivated economy.

"As long as capitalist society prevails whatever gains woman establishes, in material form and in status, are always tentative and in jeopardy."

The liberation of woman, the LSA emphasized, can never be achieved in an unjust and exploitative society. "It can only be found in a society where the great productive forces created by our collective effort are at the full disposal of humanity, where the economy is planned to meet human need and where production is geared for human use — in a socialist society."

Most commentators have judged the report purely on the basis of its legalistic recommendations and not on the basis of the impact it can have on the women's liberation movement.

Ontario New Democratic Party leader Stephen Lewis viewed the report in strictly parliamentary terms: "They're just a series of palliatives that don't cut to the root of the problem. For the next five years the federal government will be hung up on just how far it should go in amending the Criminal Code." He makes no mention of the impact that the women's liberation movement will have on this process, particularly if it launches a campaign for the implementation of the recommendations.

Some women's liberation activists have dismissed the report out of hand as an attempt to coopt the movement. There is considerable validity to this view.

As expressed by Anthony Westell of the Toronto Star, "governments today are sensing uneasily the rising ferment of the movement for women's liberation. Just as they turn to look for practical ways to meet the discontent, here is the commission with its blueprint."

Yet in dismissing the entire report as condescending half measures, these women's liberation activists are in fact playing into the hands of the Establishment. They would leave the government's pretensions unchallenged, its limitations unexposed.

By picking up the report, we can turn it into our weapon. We can use it to educate women and to mobilize them in the struggle for their liberation. We can use it to expose the government's inability to take measures which will really meet our needs, which will in fact liberate us.

The struggle for implementation of the main recommendations will spur the women's liberation movement forward far beyond the modest goals of the report, and direct it all the more clearly against the source of woman's oppression, capitalism.

This is why the campaign for February 14, whose main thrust is the Commission's demand for the right to abortion, is of central importance now.

Grace MacInnis, NDP MP has urged women to action in support of commission proposals.

the country. Its views on abortion laws go a long way toward expressing what Canadian women are thinking and what they want.

Grace MacInnis, New Democratic Party MP, has called on the women of Canada to put pressure on the government to ensure that these recommendations are put into effect.

To this end, the Toronto Women's Caucus is beginning an extensive campaign of meetings and actions to culminate in the cross-country action already projected for February 14.

The campaign in Toronto begins with a speakout December 17, featuring Elsie MacGill, a member of the Royal Commission. This will be followed by a Christmas torchlight precession, on the theme, "Every child a wanted child, every mother a willing mother," the presentation of a brief to the Ontario government demanding the setting up of abortion clinics now, other public meetings, newspaper articles, leafleting, etc.

The newspaper Velvet Fist, published by the caucus, will be used extensively to build the campaign across the country. A coalition of women's groups will be set up to build February 14 into a massive cross-Canada action.

The caucus sees the report as a direct response to the growing ferment around women's liberation, echoing and picking up many of the key demands of the women's liberation movement.

"It is a glaring statement and irrefutable proof of the injustices women face in Canadian society. It has its serious limitations — its recommendations are often half-measures totally out of proportion with the magnitude of the problems it describes. However, it provides a focus around which women will rally to struggle for their liberation."

The caucus calls for distribution of the report to all women free of charge. But, more than that, it calls upon all women to join together in the cross-country campaign leading up to Frebruary 14, whose main thrust will be to win the right to free abortion on demand.

The government must not refuse to take action around our demands. It must not spend three years or even three months "considering" the recommendations that the Royal Commission has already discussed for three years. Trudeau must act now on the commission report. The government must grant now free abortion on demand!

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Demand inquiry on war measures

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association called December 10 for a royal commission to investigate the causes of the FLQ and the government's response to the recent kidnapping crisis.

At a conference in Ottawa marking the 22nd anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, the association denounced Ottawa's "Public Order" Act as unnecessary, repressive and misguided.

The conference said the public has a right to know the grounds on which the government acted when, citing a state of apprehended insurrection, it proclaimed the War Measures Act.

The conference voted overwhelmingly for a commission which would "investigate the grounds on which the government based its actions, as well as the causes, both qualitative and quantitative, social, economic and political for the appearance of the phenomenon known as the FLQ."

The resolution also provides that if the government has not acted by the end of this month the association and the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme should appoint a commission of their own with the same mandate.

In other resolutions, the Civil Liberties Association urged that:

—The Quebec and federal governments compensate persons questioned, searched or jailed and then released without charge under the emergency measures;

—Quebec Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette withdraw his veto on bail for the 46 people now being held under the emergency measure;

—The federal government immediately withdraw the Public Order Act.

Among the lawyers, professors, MPs and other prominent personalities attending the conference were Pierre Berton, who co-authored the call for a royal commission inquiry with Paul Unterberg, an unsuccessful Parti Québécois condidate in the Quebec election, and NDP deputy leader David Lewis and Tory MP David MacDonald, the only MP to vote against the Public Order Act on first reading.

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Gov't pushes ahead with Quebec trials

by Dick Fidler

The trials of those accused of membership in, or support of, the now-banned FLQ resume on January 11 in Montreal.

Those accused of "seditious conspiracy" have been held over to February 15. The latter group of ten political prisoners includes Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal Central Council of the CNTU.

As of December 10, police were still reported to be holding 45 persons. They face a total of 59 charges under the Public Order act which outlawed the FLQ and 19 charges under the criminal code.

Twenty-three of those still held have been arrested since the latter part of November; they have not yet been charged or made any court appearance. Two persons who pleaded guilty to having at some time "distributed FLQ literature," have been sentenced.

Does the government not believe its own stories of an FLQ plot to overthrow it? On December 10, three women accused of FLQ membership were released on bail — among them Andrée Bertrand-Ferretti, an ex-vice president of the RIN and a founder of the Front de Libération Populaire (FLP).

Was it just good "public relations" to release the three women? The same day, Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon, accused of seditiously conspiring while they were in jail on other charges, were cited for contempt of court by a judge to whom they had applied for bail. Since being charged November 7, they have been turned down three times on bail applications.

Locked up incommunicado in provincial police headquarters, the leading defendants have been making heroic efforts to publicize the scandalous injustice of the charges against them. Robert Lemieux, the imprisoned defense lawyer, has unsuccessfully argued in court the unconstitutionality of the War Measures Act itself.

Michel Chartrand, turned down in a bid for bail, has launched a $25,000 lawsuit against Jean Marchand, one of Trudeau's ministers, who recently suggested in a public speech that Chartrand might want to kidnap his rival, CNTU president Marcel Pépin. A motion by Chartrand to cite Marchand for contempt of court was turned down by the judge, who described Marchand's slanderous remark as a "joke."

Meanwhile, the Quebec government, under the protection of Trudeau's "public order" act, is continuing to clamp down on dissent. One of its latest and most ominous moves has been to name a commissioner to investigate complaints by parents and school administrators against teachers "who take advantage of their positions to indoctrinate youths." Teachers' union leaders have denounced this witch-hunt as "a permanent extension of the war measures."

On December 12, a Seminar on Democracy attended by some 250 people in Montreal, many of them leading political personalities, voted to demand that Ottawa withdraw the public order act by December 15, that all those held under the act be given bail, that the Quebec government not intervene in trial or bail proceedings, and that all those arrested "unjustifiably" be indemnified.

Andrée Bertrand-Ferretti

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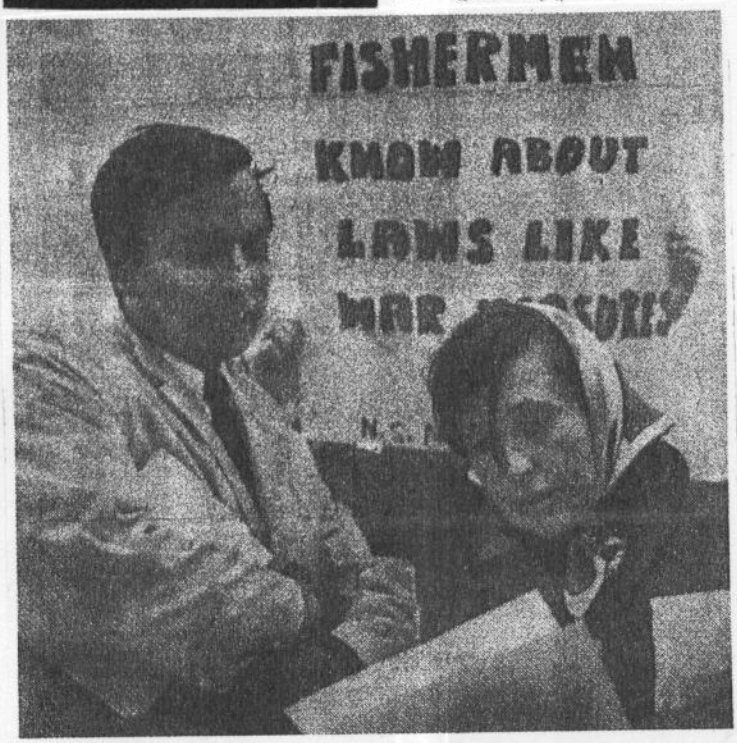

PROTEST REPRESSIVE LAW. Jacques Beauroy and Teresa Klein marched in Halifax Waffle demonstration.

Nova Scotia Waffle rally blasts repressive laws

HALIFAX — Nova Scotia NDP leader Jeremy Akerman blasted the "Public Order" Act at a rally here December 10 and declared that if the federal government is to keep such legislation on the books, "it will have to give evidence."

The federal government has not produced "one single shred of evidence" that an armed insurrection of the country was threatening during the Quebec kidnappings, Akerman said.

The NDP leader was featured speaker at the rally at Province House, called by the Nova Scotia Waffle group in the NDP. The demonstration began as a march through the city.

In a statement announcing the rally, the Waffle group noted that "one of the main reasons the War Measures Act was used was to try to smash the Quebec labor movement before it could mobilize against the military occupation of Quebec. This is because organized labor presents a far more dangerous threat to the profits of Bay Street than the FLQ does. The FLQ can't shut down the economy, but labor can."

Like the Fisherman's Federation Act, a 1947 Nova Scotia law which prevents fishermen from organizing in the union of their choice, the War Measures Act and similar legislation "is aimed at **anybody** who is getting organized to take control over their own lives," the Waffle said.

The statement added that 30 to 40 Canso Strait fishermen will face contempt charges later this month, while "about the same time in Montreal the political trials of Michel Chartrand and the others who were arrested under the WMA will be starting.

"The fishermen are on trial for the political crime of organizing a union to get their rights, like the right to eat.

"The prisoners in Quebec are on trial for the same crime.

"Free all political prisoners!

"No more repressive laws!"

How not to defend Quebec prisoners

by Ellie Kirzner

TORONTO — "Why did the government put Quebec under the War Measures Act," asked Jean-Marc Piotte.

"The reason given was the FLQ. But there are only 30 or 40 guys in the FLQ. The real reason was that in the first 10 or 15 days of the crisis, everyone was talking of the real problems of Quebec. You had 50 percent of the people favoring the FLQ manifesto. Therefore the government decided to invoke the War Measures Act to force the publicity media to go back to saying everything in Quebec was all right.

"Now we should join together to fight against the present repressive legislation."

Piotte, a professor at the University of Quebec in Montreal, was a speaker at a Teach-in on Quebec held here December 4-5. His call for united action was echoed by some of the other invited speakers, who included Claire Sauvé from FRAP, the labor-based party that contested the recent Montreal election, Michel LaMarre from the Movement to Defend Political Prisoners in Quebec, Gaston Therrien of the Taxi Liberation Movement, etc.

But unfortunately the organizers of the teach-in failed completely to project any concrete action that could start to build a movement in English Canada against the Quebec repression. Instead, as another in over half a dozen purely informational teach-ins in Toronto, the whole affair dragged to an inconclusive ending.

The less than 100 who remained at the end of the second day's sitting — 300 had come to the opening session the night before — passed almost unanimously a motion calling on the Trudeau government to "rescind the Public Order Act and not to replace it with similar antidemocratic repressive legislation."

But a motion calling for a united front action around the freeing of the political prisoners, adopted in one of the workshops, was defeated. In fact, scarcely anyone — and none of the leading speakers — even mentioned the 50 or so political prisoners charged under the War Measures Act, the foremost victims of the repression.

The teach-in was sponsored by a coalition brought together by the Committee for a Free Quebec, and including such groups as the University of Toronto Students Administrative Council, the Waffle group, Women's Liberation Movement, PLUS, and the Law Union, a group of radical lawyers.

It was a classic example of how not to organize a teach-in. The absence of floor microphones at the major opening session made a real give and take of ideas impossible. Some of the key speakers did not arrive; others arrived late.

But the main weakness was brought out in a workshop session on civil liberties defense action, where members of the Committee for a Free Quebec argued that no coalition to defend the Québécois could be based on anything short of acceptance by all participants of the "explicit demand" for Quebec self-determination, and that "educational" work on the Quebec revolution was more important than trying to build a mass defense movement around the political trials.

Members of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists countered with the observation that support of self-determination for Quebec was not the issue. As YSer Al Cappe noted, "any defense committee would obviously be based on implicit support of self-determination — what else could freeing the prisoners, withdrawing the federal troops, mean?"

If "explicit" support of self-determination meant support for Quebec's independence, this was surely not the position of the teach-in organizers. They included for the most part political tendencies which oppose independence. And the teach-in organizers had specifically excluded the LSA and YS, which do support Quebec independence, from joining the list of sponsors.

At a planning meeting, the coalition had voted, with some dissenters, to ask representatives of the YS and LSA to leave the premises, although they had offered support and funds to aid the teach-in. Pressed to explain this action, a spokesman for the CFQ said they "couldn't work with the LSA-YS" — although the latter's co-thinkers in Quebec, the LSO and LJS, are well-known as activists in building the Quebec Committee for the Defense of Freedom, which provided some of the speakers for the Toronto teach-in.

Ellie Kirzner of the YS noted that a strategy was needed to bring into motion the large numbers of English Canadians who were repelled by the antidemocratic nature of Trudeau's actions, but who do not yet recognize the need for Quebec's independence. She and Cappe suggested that the most effective action would be a mass rally, perhaps in early January when the Quebec political trials resume.

"Involving people in English Canada in the defense of Quebec civil liberties," Kirzner pointed out, "means that they are going to go through a process of learning about the necessity of Quebec's independence. There is no short-cut to this — and in the meantime we need all these people to ensure that the Quebec left is able to continue to organize."

"Propagandistic activity without some kind of united action means copping out of our responsibility as revolutionaries," another workshop participant said.

Some of the Québécois present expressed support for this view, as did a large majority of the workshop. Although the workshop's proposal for a united committee around the freeing of the political prisoners was rejected by the plenary session, several of the participants in the workshop agreed to call a further meeting of those interested in serious defense work.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN. Trade union leader Michel Chartrand (above, speaking to mass rally on eve of War Measures Act) is now in jail facing 14 years imprisonment on charge of plotting "violent" overthrow of government. Toronto teach-in organizers failed to mention, let alone project action to free Chartrand and other victims of repression in Quebec.

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Raids, trials: Quebec repression continues

by Penny Simpson

MONTREAL — T.C. Douglas may call them "Keystone Kops," but there's nothing funny about the very professional way the Montreal and Quebec police are conducting their campaign of intimidation against the left.

Emboldened by Ottawa's repressive laws, they are continuing their raids. On December 2, less than 24 hours before James Cross was released, they raided the homes of four members of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

The police didn't seize anything, even after a twice-over search in one apartment. But one LJS member, John Lejderman, was threatened with having his head beaten against the wall, and in another case, the cops threatened to smash the door in if the building superintendent refused to let them enter an LSO member's apartment.

On December 4, four other LSO and LJS members pleaded not guilty in municipal court to "carrying placards, banners, cockades or similar identifying symbols" during the October municipal election campaign. The charge carries a penalty of $200 fine and/ or six months in prison.

The four — Manon Léger, the LSO's mayoralty candidate against Jean Drapeau, her campaign manager Jean Hérivault, Léon Peillard and Michel Lévesque — were arrested following the picketing of the Black Watch armories by supporters of the Léger campaign the day before the vote. They were remanded to January 14.

The police searches and court charges are clearly a continuation of the harassment the LSO and LJS have experienced since the arrest of two leading members, Arthur Young and Penny Simpson, on October 16 under the War Measures Act.

The personal papers and books of Simpson and Young have not yet been returned, nor has a letter to the police demanding their return been answered.

The LSO and LJS are the only radical groups — apart from the defense committees — that have continued to function here since the unleashing of the War Measures Act.

Are the police "exceeding their duties"? They're not exceeding their powers — they're acting in accordance with the new "public order" act. And during the last month, two top Quebec Liberals, Gilles Lalande, Liberal policy commission chairman, and Gérard Filion of Marine Industries Ltd. have publicly denounced "Trotskyists," and other groups, as "subversives."

The capitalist authorities hope to prolong and even institutionalize the repressive atmosphere the FLQ kidnappings crisis has enabled them to whip up against the left. Now that Cross is free, the police have declared that they will be able to use more ruthless methods than were possible while the diplomat remained in his kidnappers' hands.

The trials of those charged under the WMA recommence on January 11. The year-old sedition case against Raymond Lemieux and Laurier Gravel, leaders of the St-Léonard struggle for a French school system, will be heard in the January assizes, as will the case of pro-abortion fighter Dr. Henry Morgentaler, charged with arranging and performing abortions.

The governments seem to think they can railroad every opponent they have in Quebec while the rest of the country isn't looking. A united defense effort in Quebec and across Canada is urgently needed to breach this attack against every sector of popular protest.

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Young Socialists convention gears for new radicalization

A public rally in defense of Québécois political prisoners will highlight the coming Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes convention in the army-occupied city of Montreal.

The rally will take place in the convention hall, 3485a ave. du Parc, on January 2 — closing three days of discussions among delegates coming from the Atlantic provinces to Vancouver.

On December 31, Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action, will give a special address on the significance of the life of Leon Trotsky to today's radicalizing youth.

Documents are being published, in English and French, on the tasks before the YS/ LJS in the present youth radicalization, on Quebec, the antiwar movement, women's liberation, the Americanization of the universities and other topics.

For further information, or to obtain convention documentation, write the YS at 334 Queen St. W., Toronto, or contact the YS or LJS group in your area.

Sub campaign wins 1100 new readers

by Peter Sharpe

One thousand one hundred subscriptions to Labor Challenge — and it took Portland USA to get us there.

No matter how often we counted, the total was 1099, until a letter arrived from an Oregon radical who saw us quoted in a U.S. socialist weekly, The Militant, and there was our 1100th subscription.

Unquestioned champions in our drive were our readers in Brandon, Man and Beaver and Black's Harbor, N.B. Brandon sent in no less than 18 subs in the final days, sold mainly to local NDP activists.

Four other areas went over the top, and Toronto and Vancouver, with the big quotas, both came very close. All in all, a good start — 1100 new readers for our paper in Labor Challenge's first drive.

But we fell 400 short of our goal.

And the goal was realistic — this was proven by the big response to the paper in so many areas. But the results show that in other areas, our readers have yet to get geared to using the paper, and to winning new friends for it on campus and in the areas where they are politically active.

An interesting feature of the drive was that most subscriptions were sold where our readers are active every day — on the job, on the campus, in the New Democratic Party, etc. We should be able to make up the final 400 subscriptions in this manner in not too many months.

And next year we'll be ready to set a higher goal — and make it!

AREA	QUOTA	NEW SUBS	%
Brandon	5	18	360
Beaver Harbor, N.B.	5	9	180
Sudbury	5	8	160
Hamilton	50	60	120
Fredericton	25	28	112
Kitchener	50	55	110
Toronto	500	477	95
Vancouver	300	249	83
Edmonton	75	54	72
Montreal	25	18	72
Saskatoon	35	20	57
Richmond Hill	15	5	33
St. Catharines	50	15	30
Winnipeg	50	14	28
London	25	5	20
Orillia	25	5	20
St. John's, Nfld.	5	1	20
Halifax	10	1	10
Ottawa	100	9	9
Guelph	5	0	0
General	140	53	38
GOAL	1500	1100	74%

Oppose Government Strikebreaking!

RAILWORKERS LEAD THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION

The railworkers' struggle against the strike-busting and wage-cutting lagislative attack by the Trudeau government stands at the centre of the fight to defend the wages of workers across Canada from the ravages of inflation. If Trudeau's Liberal Government, supported by Stanfield's Tories succeed in the drive to force the 92,500 railworkers back to work after their struggle to defend their wages it will serve only to intimidate workers in the fight against inflation and embolden the bosses and their Liberal and Tory political spokesmen. If the working people, and above all the unions, do not mobilize adequately to meet the attack head on and turn it back, further steps including a possible wage freeze or wage controls will be attempted by the bosses. The time to fight is right now. Defend the rail workers struggle. The rail workers show the way.

As in 1966 and 1969 the railworkers have been faced with an outright refusal of the rail bosses, including the government - owned CNR to bargain seriously. The strategy of the rail bosses, right from the outset, was to force a strike and rely on their friends in the Trudeau Government to break the strike and force a boss settlement down the workers throats. Now the Government is attempting exactly that.

The offer that the government is attempting to force on the railworkers was rejected by them over 7 weeks ago. The 17.6 percent, for over two years, won't even keep up to the rate of inflation this year and next, let alone make up for the loss since the 1969 contract. The rail bosses, naturally, support the strike-breaking legislation--it's just what they sought all along.

In the past week we saw very militant demonstrations, in Toronto, Winnipeg, Ottawa, and other centers across the country that showed that the railworkers were not prepared to be driven under by inflation or the government. Their lack of faith in the government to give a fair settlement was born out, but they still stand alone against the conbined weight of the rail companies and the government. Without support from other sectors of the union movement, though, they will not be able to hold out long.

MASS RANK AND FILE ACTION - NO ACCEPTANCE OF STRIKEBREAKER LAWS

The demonstrations last week should just be the beginning. What is needed is for other unions to join the railworkers by organizing rallies to protest the government's strikebreaking laws and defend the workers demands for the settlement to block the government's attacks.

EXTEND THE STRIKE

The operators and the shopcraft workers have also been included in the legislation. By joining their brothers in the non-ops they can add great strength to the struggle. Other unions, particularly those now in or going into negotiations who will be bargaining under the eventual precedents of the rail strike, should now organize support rallies and actions if they hope to beat inflation and win settlements that will keep up to the cost of living. The railworkers' fight is the fight of all workers against inflation.

league for
socialist
action

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Labor donated

rogramme To Fight Inflation -

COST OF LIVING "ESCALATOR" CLAUSE

The cost of living accelerates each month. It is not sufficient to guess at inflation rates in wage bargaining. The Hamilton civic outside workers in Cupe and the paper workers on the Ottawa River show the way. Wages must be protected with cost of living clauses in all union contracts which bring automatic wage increases each time and to the full extent that the cost of living rises. Trade unions should fight for similar clauses in company pension plans and Government pension, allowance and unemployment plans.

UNION BASED PRICE - WATCH COMMITTEES

The Federal Government's Consumer Price Index does not measure the real rate of inflation. For example it does not include tax and interest rate increases. Unions should launch price-watch which would include representatives of farmers, consumer groups and pensioners and would demand full access to corporate financial records to expose their real profits, secret connections and price policies. Such committees could provide the information necessary to make escalator clauses really work and by exposing price gouging, could exert maximum pressure against corporations planning new price hikes.

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED

Only 1/3 of workers in Canada are in unions. If workers are to effectively confront the price-gougers a well-financed and adequately-staffed organizing campaign should be undertaken to bring the millions of unorganized workers into the union movement.

FOR SHORTER HOURS - JOBS FOR ALL

Bosses and the Liberal and Tory political spokesmen seek to pit unemployed workers against those who have jobs. The aim is to use competition among workers for jobs to hold wages down. The unions must launch a campaign, uniting organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed for a sliding scale of hours. To fight unemployment, hours should go down to share available work among all who need jobs. This should begin with an immediate goal of a 30 hour work week for all at 40 hours take home pay.

NATIONALIZE THE FOOD INDUSTRIES AND THE CPR

Clearly the food monopolists place profits before human need. While their profits hit record highs they lower the quality of food and price it out of reach of millions of working people. Similarly CPR (which grabbed 28 million dollars in federal government subsidies, while it cuts service, hikes rates for farmers and now denies workers a living wage) places its profits before human need. These monopolies should be nationalized and placed under the management of the workers in these industries to provide low-cost quality food and rail services for all.

SOCIALIST POLICIES FOR THE NDP

These steps and others like them must be taken up by the New Democratic Party, a party which unlike the monopoly backed Liberals and Tories is based on the trade unions. The unions and the NDP must break with the conservative, petty reform oriented approach of their privileged leaderships. The NDP must commit itself completely to the fight of working people for jobs, living wages, and economic security for all. If these goals are to be secured the NDP will have to tackle the giant privately-owned monopolies head-on, nationalizing them and replacing production for the profit of a tiny handful of fabulously rich capitalists with democratically planned production controlled by the workers to meet human needs.